THE MARKLAND LIBRARY

036982
220.9 SMI
Y28624
GG 6/95

JERUSALEM

THE TOPOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 70

BY

GEORGE ADAM SMITH
D.D., LL.D.
PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE, LITERATURE
AND THEOLOGY, UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, GLASGOW

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
LONDON MCMVII

ST. KATHARINE'S
COLLEGE
CLASS: 220.9
SM1
VOLUME:
PRICE: I
ACCESSION NUMBER: 1983
BOUND:

Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty

TO THE

MEMORY

OF

M. S.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/jerusalem0000geor

PREFACE

IN the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* it was not possible, for reasons of space, to include a topography of Jerusalem, an appreciation of her material resources, or a full study of the historical significance of her site and surroundings. The present volumes are an attempt to deal with these subjects, and to give in addition a history of the City's politics, literature and religion.

In order to prepare the reader for the long and often intricate discussions of so vast a subject, extending over more than fourteen centuries, I have thought it well to present first of all a picture of the essential Jerusalem. This will be found in the Introduction.

Book I. comprises the Topography of the City and the various questions, which this raises, of position and nomenclature, along with some account of the Climate, a chapter on the Geology and another on Earthquakes. For the earthquakes which we know to have visited Jerusalem not only may have affected that exact distribution of the waters on which so many topographical questions depend, but have certainly by their *débris* masked other features of the site, while the

folklore connected with them has possibly influenced some of the names. There were unfortunately no previous studies of which I could avail myself in dealing with these matters. I have come to no definite conclusions—which, indeed, from the nature of the subject are impossible—but have been content to make a few suggestions and to enforce the need of caution in topographical argument, in face of the disturbance which the earthquakes of Jerusalem have undoubtedly introduced into the tradition of her topography. I have besides quoted the criticisms which the late Sir Charles Wilson kindly sent to me when my views on the subject were first published, so that the reader may judge for himself whether I have gone too far in estimating the influence of the earthquakes. As to the topography itself, one cannot give an adequate idea of it without the details of the controversies—topical, textual and historical—which have been more numerous and more keenly debated in the case of Jerusalem than in that of any other site in the whole world. Recently, however, the main issues have been cleared of much irrelevant reasoning, and there is a remarkable tendency towards agreement upon many of the conclusions.

The following pages, with their innumerable references, will exhibit the greatness of my debt to all who have worked on the site and, in only a less degree than this, to many who have argued about it. I most heartily express my gratitude to the Palestine Exploration Fund and their pioneers in the survey and excavation of the site—especially Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren,

Colonel Conder, M. Clermont-Ganneau (whose other works are equally valuable), and Dr. F. J. Bliss. For the last thirty years all work on the topography of Jerusalem, whether in English or other languages, has been based on the Fund's Ordnance Survey, its Maps, Plans and Memoirs. These can never cease to be indispensable to the student. In addition, I thank the Executive Committee of the Fund for their generous permission to me to base the large plan of the City which will be found in the pocket of Volume I. upon their Plan of Jerusalem reduced from the Ordnance Plan made by Sir Charles Wilson. I would also record my indebtedness, like that of every other worker on the subject, to the publications of what is now the 'Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas.' In particular, the chapter on the Geology and the geological map, by which Mr. Bartholomew has illustrated it, could not have been prepared without the materials supplied in Dr. Blanckenhorn's treatise on the Geology of Jerusalem which appeared in their *Zeitschrift*; and every student of the subject knows the value of Dr. Guthe's excavations on Ophel carried out under their auspices. I also owe much to the *Revue Biblique* and the work of the Dominican Fathers and their colleagues in Jerusalem; and among other individuals especially to Dr. Merrill, who has generously laid his stores of knowledge at the disposal of inquirers, and whose book we eagerly await; to the late Herr Baurath Schick, whose labours on the topography and architecture were so long and constant; to the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, Dr. Masterman, and other

residents in Jerusalem; to Mr. R. A. S. Macalister; and to various Directors of the American Archæological School.

In the following treatment of the topography the reader will not find any novel theories of the cardinal questions. Brought up in the traditional views of the position of Ṣion on the South-west Hill, I have been constrained by the Biblical evidence to conclude with the majority of modern scholars that the original Ṣion lay on the East Hill somewhere above the Virgin's Spring; and also to agree with those who find the rock of the Altar of Burnt-Offering in the present eṣ-Ṣakhra, and consequently place the Temple to the west of this. Nor have I many fresh suggestions upon the details of the topography. I found, however, that the Biblical evidence as to the name Ṣion had not received the exhaustive treatment which I have attempted to give it; and the reader will be interested in at least one of the results of this examination, viz. that the name Ṣion for the East Hill appears to be avoided by a school of Old Testament writers, and that *the* '*Ophel* seems to have been once a synonym for it. As to the Walls of the City, all I have attempted is an elucidation of the results of the excavations and an exegesis of the relevant passages in the Old Testament and Josephus. I think I have given all the evidence that is extant, except in the case of certain alternative theories of the course of the Second Wall, because in my judgment we do not yet possess sufficient material for deciding among them. The question of the Second Wall involves that of the site of Calvary

and the Sepulchre of our Lord. It may disappoint some readers that I offer no conclusion as to this. But after twenty-seven years' study of the evidence I am unable to feel that a conclusion one way or other is yet possible, or perhaps ever will be possible. In this negative result I am confirmed by the opinion of an authority of much greater experience, the late Sir Charles Wilson, whose posthumous work, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, edited by Sir Charles Watson, and published last year by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is a lucid and exhaustive treatment of this difficult subject. After this, to attempt even to restate the evidence would be superfluous and wearisome. Sir Charles Wilson's volume is invaluable to the student and to the visitor to Jerusalem, not only upon this question but on many others in the topography of the City. Nor have I been able, in the present state of our information, to treat many of the details of the structure and arrangement of Herod's Temple; though I am clear that its actual site, size and appearance were as I have described them. But upon these and all other questions of the topography, I must here remind the reader, as I have done several times in the following pages, that the excavation of Jerusalem, though it has been profuse and thorough so far as it has gone, is nevertheless still incomplete, and that much of the ancient site remains unexplored. Whether surprises are in store for us, who can say?

To the topography proper I have added two chapters on the history of the name Jerusalem and on other names

for the City. The former is founded on a study of the name which appeared in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, article 'Jerusalem,' § 1, and which has received the approval of so great an authority in philology as Dr. Eberhard Nestle.

Book II. The Economics and Politics.—As I put the chapters on the topography into shape, I found that my first design of adding to them one on the material resources of Jerusalem, her agriculture, industries and commerce, would not be sufficient for its subject. The very difficult problems of the City's economy are immediately suggested by the topography; they run through every phase of her ethics and politics; the character and organisation of her religion are deeply involved in them; and their materials survive even in the most spiritual forms of its symbolism—which are in use at the present day. How was so large a community, especially with the enormous additions made to it on the occasions of the great festivals, able to subsist on such a site in such surroundings? What lands had the City, and what did she grow on them? Devoid as her territory is of many of the necessaries of life, and beset by obstacles to trade, how did she secure the former and overcome the latter? After supplying their own needs, what surplus of natural products did the citizens possess with which to purchase the commodities denied to them by their own soil? What other revenues came to them? There has been no full answer to these problems in the histories of Jerusalem; some of them have hardly been raised by any historian. Yet they are radical to the life of the City, relevant (as I have said) to

every phase of her history, and greatly intensified by the growth of her peculiar religious institutions. Each of them requires a chapter to itself; and as among them they start the whole subject of the City's administration, I have added two other chapters upon the constitutional history of Israel from the earliest times to the Roman dominion. For these last there are, of course, many precedents; but as in the economic portions of this work I was without guides, I can hardly have done more than suggest to others fuller and more accurate ways in which to treat the subject.

Book III. The History.—Part of my original design was a sketch of the general history of Jerusalem, without which neither the significance of the site nor the details of the topography, differing as they did from age to age, could be made clear. But I found that this would not be sufficient to accomplish such aims, involving as these do the determination of so many points of historical and literary criticism. And if such a sketch were inadequate to declare the things in Jerusalem that may be seen, handled and physically measured, in so far as they affected the character of her people and the course of her history, still less could it do justice to the things that are unseen, the ethical and religious elements of that history; which, while sometimes determined by the material conditions, often wonderfully transcend both the aids and the obstacles that the latter contribute to them. It became necessary, therefore, to provide what is virtually a political and religious history of Israel from the time when with David the City was

first identified with the fortunes of the People, to that of Titus when such an identification came to an end. This I have done in Book III.

It was impossible to prevent some overlapping among these three divisions of the work. The reader will find not a few anticipations of the general history of Book III. in the chapters of the first two Books. The history of the City under the Romans is treated with great brevity in Book III. because so much of it is already given in Book II. under 'The Government and Police' and 'The Multitude.'

The most of chapters vi., vii., ix. and x. in Book I., of chapter ix. in Book II., and of chapters ii. and iv.-xiii. in Book III., and of Appendices I. and II., along with portions of the Introduction, of chapters iv. and v. in Book I., and of chapters ii. and iii. in Book III., have appeared in the *Expositor* for 1903, 1905, 1906. Chapter x. Book II. was delivered as the Inaugural Lecture for Session 1907-8 of the Board of Theological Studies in the University of Liverpool. All the rest of the work is now published for the first time.

The thirteen Maps and Plans for the volumes have been prepared, like those of the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, by the eminent Scottish cartographer, Mr. John George Bartholomew, and warm thanks are due to him for all the trouble he has taken in their preparation, as well as for the clearness and impressiveness with which they have been achieved. Of the fifteen Plates, thirteen are from photographs by myself. The two others

are of coins (except in two cases) from my own collection. To Mr. George Macdonald, LL.D., Honorary Curator of the Hunterian Coin Cabinet in the University of Glasgow, I owe the reproductions of the two coins from that collection, as well as assistance in determining other coins. My thanks are also due to Messrs. T. and R. Annan and Sons, Glasgow, for their beautiful reproduction of the photographs in collotype.

Two other debts I desire to acknowledge as the greatest of all. As my introduction to the history of Jerusalem, and my earliest interest in it, were due to the guidance of the dear kinswoman, my first teacher, to whose memory I have dedicated this work; so the work would never have been completed but for the constant assistance and counsel of my wife, who, besides reading all the proofs, has prepared the General and Special Indices to both volumes.

I have sought to make the work as useful as I could by giving the greater number of the dimensions and distances stated in the topography in metres as well as in feet, and by multiplying the references to the relevant literature. I have tested all these twice or thrice, but I cannot have escaped falling sometimes into error, and I will be grateful for corrections.

I have appended to this a table of the transliteration of Oriental names.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

GLASGOW,
19*th October* 1907.

TRANSLITERATION OF SEMITIC NAMES

In volume I. a number of the familiar historical names have been left in the usual English spelling. The following table explains such of the spelling adopted as may be unusual to the English reader.

HEBREW	ARABIC	ENGLISH TRANSLITERATION
Aleph	Elif	When initial not expressed, when medial '
Gimel		g
	Gim	j
He	Hā	h
Wāw	Wāw	w (in a few cases v)
Ḥeth	Ḥā	ḥ
	Ḫā	kh (in a few cases ḫ)
Ṭeth	Ṭā	ṭ
	Ẓāy	ẓ
Yodh	Yā	usually i or y (but in the Divine and other proper names j)
Kaph	Kāf	k (but in familiar proper names ch)
'Ayin	'Ain	'
	Ghain	usually gh
Ṣadhe	Ṣād	ṣ
Qoph	Ḳāf	ḳ

Final *he* (silent) is generally expressed, but not always; *e.g.* in titles of the tractates of the Mishna and Talmud. Some of these titles, too, have been given in the notes in the conventional spelling; the accurate transliteration will be found in Special Index III. In the text the Arabic definite article *el* (*en*, *esh*, etc.) is so spelt—with an *e*. But in a number of names on the large Plan of Jerusalem it appears with an *a*—*al* (*an*, *ash*, etc.).

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

PAGE

PREFACE v

INTRODUCTION

THE ESSENTIAL CITY 3

BOOK I

THE TOPOGRAPHY—SITES AND NAMES

CHAP.

I. THE SITE OF THE CITY 31

II. FACTS AND QUESTIONS IN THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY 44

III. THE GEOLOGY 50

IV. EARTHQUAKES, SPRINGS AND DRAGONS . . 61

V. THE WATERS OF JERUSALEM 75

1. The Rainfall and other Natural Conditions . . 77
2. The Springs—Real and Reputed . . . 83
3. The Identification of the Springs . . . 101
4. The Reservoirs and Aqueducts . . . 112

CHAP. PAGE

VI. SION, OPHEL AND 'THE CITY OF DAVID' . . 134

1. The Arguments from Topography and Archæology 136
2. The Biblical Evidence as to Ṣion . . . 144
3. History of the Name The 'Ophel . . . 152
4. History of the Name David's-Burgh or 'City of David' 154
5. The Tradition from Josephus onwards that the 'City of David' lay on the South-West Hill . 161
6. The Return to the East Hill 165

VII. THE VALLEY OF HINNOM 170

VIII. THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM 181

1. The Present City Walls 184
2. Proofs of the Ancient Walls up to Titus and their Limits. 187
3. The Historical Evidence 191
4. The Evidence of the Excavations . . . 209
5. The Three North Walls 241

IX. THE NAME JERUSALEM AND ITS HISTORY . . 250

X. OTHER NAMES FOR THE CITY 266

BOOK II

THE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

I. A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS 275

II. THE ETHNIC AND ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF JERUSALEM 283

CHAP. PAGE

III. THE CITY LANDS 288

IV. THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF JERUSALEM . . 297

V. COMMERCE AND IMPORTS 310

VI. THE ROYAL REVENUES: ESTATES, TRIBUTE, TITHES, TAXATION 337

VII. THE TEMPLE REVENUES, PROPERTIES AND FINANCE 351

VIII. TRADES, CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES . . . 367

IX. GOVERNMENT AND POLICE 377

1. Before the Exile 377
2. After the Return, 536-444 B.C. 380
3. Under Nehemiah, 444-432 B.C. . . . 382
4. From Nehemiah to the Maccabees, 431-168 B.C. . 384
5. The Reconstitution of Israel, 168-142 B.C. . . 398
6. The Hasmonean Dynasty, 142-63 B.C. . . 407
7. Under the Romans from B.C. 63 onwards . . 411

X. 'THE MULTITUDE' 435

GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUME I. 457

SPECIAL INDEX I.—The Bible and Apocrypha . . 481

SPECIAL INDEX II.—Josephus 490

SPECIAL INDEX III.—Talmudic Literature . . . 493

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES . . 495

LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS IN VOLUME I.

MAP I. General Plan of Jerusalem, illustrating recent discoveries, reduced by permission from the Palestine Exploration Fund's Plan of Jerusalem by Sir Charles W. Wilson, K.C.B., etc. *In the pocket of Vol. I.*

MAP II. Map of Judæa . . . . *facing page* 1

MAP III. Comparative Profiles of the East and West Hills, with the Rock-Bed of the Ḳidron . *facing page* 42

MAP IV. Geological Map of Jerusalem, after Dr. Blanckenhorn . . . . . *facing page* 53

MAP V. Walls at the Mouth of the Central Valley, excavated by Dr. Bliss . . . . *facing page* 219

MAP VI. The Northern Walls . . . *facing page* 241

LIST OF PLATES IN VOLUME I.

PLATE I. Jerusalem: Looking South-east between Olivet and Jebel ʿAbu Deir Ṭor to the Moabite Plateau . . . . *facing page* 11

PLATE II. Jerusalem: Looking East across the Ḥaram esh-Sherîf to the Mount of Olives . *facing page* 11

PLATE III. The Valley of Hinnom and the South-West Hill . . . . *facing page* 33

PLATE IV. The Hills and Valleys of Jerusalem from the South-east . . . *facing page* 33

PLATE V. The Lower Ḳidron Valley: Looking South *facing p.* 81

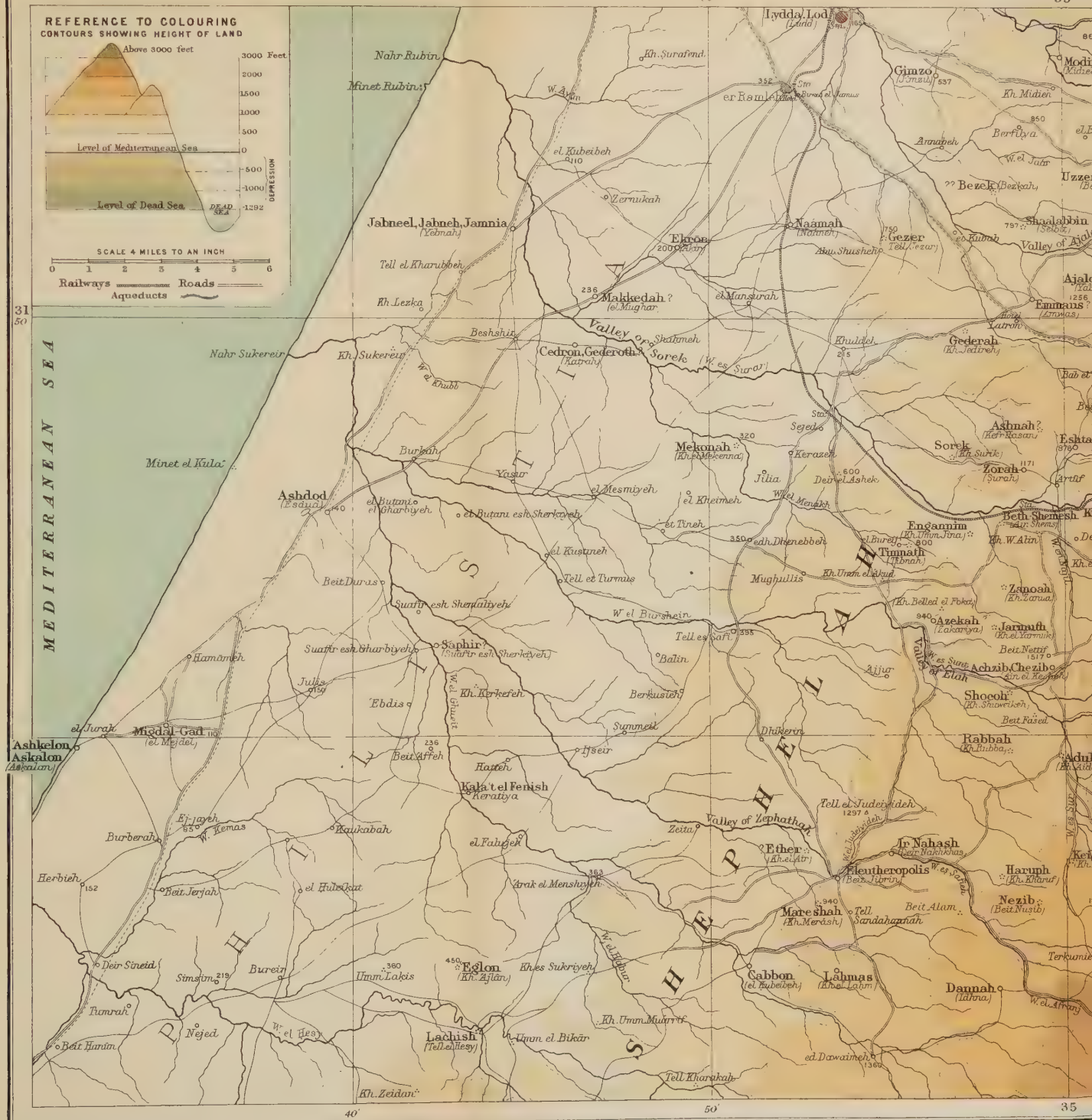
PLATE VI. The North-east Tower of the Citadel *facing p.* 192

PLATE VII. Courses of Ancient City Wall on the South-West Hill . . . . *facing page* 214

PLATE VIII. The Present North Wall of Jerusalem *facing page* 239

PLATE IX. Specimens of the Earliest Coins Circulating in Syria and Judæa . . *facing page* 405

PLATE X. Specimens of Coins used by the Jews from Herod Archelaus to the Second Revolt, B.C. 4 to A.D. 135 . . . *facing page* 413



The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

J. G. Bartholomew.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOLUME I.

PAGE

48, line 14 : Ḳala'at *read* Ḳal'at.

51, line 19, and footnote 4 : Lortet *read* Lartet.

78, footnote 3 : Lortet *read* Lartet.

85. On the reputed spring under the Temple it is interesting to compare Mr. Macalister's discovery of a deep-seated spring, reached by a tunnel below the site of Gezer : *P.E.F.Q.*, January 1908.

90, footnote 2 : Kilt *read* el-Ḳelt.

112, to footnote 1 add : But see Kittel, *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie*, 178 ff.

123, line 13 : ej-Jib *read* ej-Jîb.

144, footnote 3 : צינון *read* עֵינָן.

174, footnote 3 : *'emek* (twice) read *'emeḳ*.

175, line 7 : Dr. Schwartz (so spelt by Warren) *read* Rabbi Schwarz.

176. On the Valley and Dung Gates see Mommert, *Topographie d. alten Jerusalem*, iv^er^ Theil, 45 ff. With the Dung-Gate cf. the later name for the S.W. quarter of the City, Beth-so, Josephus, v. *B.J.* iv. 2.

194, line 11 : 64 B.C. *read* 63 B.C.

194, line 24 : VI. read V.

197 f. On the course of Nehemiah's night-ride see Mommert, *Topogr. d. alt. Jerus.* iv^er^ Theil 1-12, where he corrects Rückert's view. See also pp. 48 ff. on the Fountain-Gate.

201, lines 8, 14, 19 : *Ḥanane'-el* read *Ḥanane'el.*

350, line 1 : *serisîm* read *sārîsîm*.

366, footnote 1. *For* Hyrcanus son of Tobias *we should probably read* Hyrcanus-Tobias. See vol. ii. 426 f.

390. On the date of the Letter of Aristeas see vol. ii. 441 *n.* 3, 447.

393, line 18. The Papyri discovered at Elephantine (see vol. ii., Prefatory Note, and pp. 354 f. *n.* 6) show that there was a Persian Governor of Judah in 411 B.C.

411, footnote 3 : 64 *read* 63.

440, last line. This was more probably Ptolemy IV. (221-204 B.C.) or Ptolemy V. (204-181). See p. 368.

INDEX. On p. 467 under Josephus (last line), on p. 469 under Mishna (last line), and on p. 471 under Tosephta, for vol. ii. read vol. i. On p. 476 under Talmud (last line) read—Special Index III. to vol. i.

INTRODUCTION

THE ESSENTIAL CITY

THE ESSENTIAL CITY

HIGH up on the back of a long mountain range, between its eastern flank which is the last bulwark against the Arabian desert, and its western which is the side of the vaster basin of the Mediterranean, lies Jerusalem, facing the desert and the sirocco, yet so close to the edge of the basin as to feel the full sweep of its rains and humid winds. The sea is some thirty-four miles away, washing a bleak coast without harbours. On the other side, the range is separated from the Arabian plateau by the profound trench of the Jordan and Dead Sea; but the desert has crossed the trench, and climbs to within a few miles of the City-gates. The site is a couple of rocky spurs, lower than the surrounding summits of the range, but entrenched from them on three sides by abrupt ravines, in one of which lies the only certain spring of the district. There is no river nor perennial stream, and no pass nor natural high-road across the mountain. The back of the range offers a rough pasture, which in the rainy season spreads out upon the desert, but is suitable only to the smaller kinds of cattle. The limestone terraces and slopes are among the best in all the world for the olive and the vine, but there are comparatively few fields for grain. The broad plains of Palestine are far off, and more open to other countries than commanded by her own hills. Even further away are the nearest metals and salts.

Geographically considered the City is the product of two opposite systems of climate and culture. She hangs on the watershed between East and West, between the Desert and the Sea: central but aloof, defensible but not commanding, with some natural resources but bare of many of the necessaries of life. Left alone by the main currents of the world's history, Jerusalem had been but a small highland township, her character compounded of the rock, the olive and the desert: conscious, by right of such a position, of her distinctness and jealous of her freedom; drawing, from her cultivation of that slow but generous tree, the love of peace, habits of industry and the civic instinct; but touched besides by the more austere and passionate influences of the desert. Sion, 'the Rock-fort,' Olivet and Gethsemane, 'The Oilpress,' the Tower of the Flock, and the Wilderness of the Shepherds, would still have been names typical of her life, and the things they illustrate have remained the material substance of her history to the present day.

But she became the bride of Kings and the mother of Prophets. The Prophets, sons only of that national and civic life of which the Kings had made her the centre, repaid her long travail and training of their genius by the supreme gift of an answer to the enigmas of her life: blew by their breath into imperishable flame the meaning of her tardy and ambiguous history. She knew herself chosen of God, a singular city in the world, with a mission to mankind. And though her children became divided between a stupid pride in her privilege and a frequent apostasy to other faiths, for she had heathen blood in her from the beginning, God never left Himself without witnesses in her midst, nor ceased to strive with her. She felt

His Presence, she was adjured of His love, and, as never another city on earth has been, of His travail for her worthiness of the destiny to which He had called her.

Few cities have been so often or so cruelly besieged, so torn by faction, so sapped by treachery, so inflammable to riot, so drenched with blood. The forces of her progress and her re-actions have been equally intolerant, and almost equally savage in their treatment of each other.

Yet it has not been in this ceaseless human strife that the real tragedy of Jerusalem has consisted—except in so far as both sides were together but one side of the more awful contest through the ages between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man. Nowhere else has this universal struggle been waged so consciously, so articulately as in Jerusalem. Nowhere else have its human responsibilities and its Divine opportunities been so tragically developed. The expostulations of souls like Jeremiah's and Habakkuk's with the decrees of Providence and the burdens of Its will have been answered from their own hearts, and those of other prophets, in the assurance of an infinitely more anxious travail and agony waged by God Himself with reluctant man for the understanding of His will, the persuasion of His mercy, and the acceptance of His discipline towards higher stages of character and vision. It is to-day the subject of half the world's worship and of the wonder of the rest, that both these elements in the long religious history of Jerusalem culminated and were combined in the experience of Jesus Christ within and around her walls: on the one hand, in His passionate appeals to the City to turn to Him, as though all the sovereign love and fatherly yearning of God were with Him; and on the other, in His Temptation, His agony of

submission to the Divine will, and His Crucifixion. So that Sion and Olivet, the Wilderness and Gethsemane, their earthly meanings almost forgotten, have become the names of eternal facts in the history of the relations of God and man.

From another point of view, and with more detail, we may present this essential history of the City as follows.

The life of even the meanest of towns cannot be written apart from the general history of the times through which it has flourished. While still but a hill-fort, with centuries of obscurity before her, Jerusalem held a garrison for the Pharaoh of the day, and corresponded with him in the characters of the Babylonian civilisation.

When such a town, suddenly, without omen, augury or promise of national renown, becomes, as Jerusalem did under David, the capital of a kingdom, her historian is drawn to explore, it may be at a distance from herself, the currents of national life which have surprised her, and the motives of their convergence upon so unexpected a centre. His horizon is the further widened, if the capital which she has become be that of a restless nation upon the path of great empires: tremulous to all their rumour, and provoking, as Jerusalem did from the days of Sennacherib to those of Hadrian, the interference of their arms.

Yet this range of political interest opened to our City only as the reflection of that more sacred fame which dawned upon her when, with Isaiah, the one monotheism of the ancient world was identified with the inviolableness of her walls; when with Deuteronomy and Josiah the ritual of that religion was concentrated upon her shrine, and the One Temple came to be regarded as equally essential to religion with faith in the One God. Not only

did the Country, already much diminished, shrink in consequence to be the mere fringe of the City, within whose narrow walls a whole nation, conscious of a service to humanity, henceforth experienced the most powerful crises of their career; not only did her sons learn to add to the pride of such a citizenship the idealism and passionate longing which only exile breeds; but among alien and far away races the sparks were kindled of a love and an eagerness for the City almost as jealous as those of her own children.

So lofty an influence was exercised by Jerusalem some centuries before the appearance of Jesus Christ; yet it was only prophetic of the worship she drew from the whole world as the scene of His Passion, His Cross and His Grave. Though other great cities of Christendom, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage and Rome, were by far her superiors in philosophy and spiritual empire, Jerusalem remained the religious centre of the earth—whose frame was even conceived as poised upon her rocks—the home of the Faith, the goal of most distant pilgrimages, and the original of the heavenly City, which would one day descend from God among men. By all which memories and beliefs the passions of mankind were let loose upon her. She became as Armageddon. Two world-wide religions made her their battle-ground, hurling their farthest kings against her walls and shedding upon her dust the tears and the blood of millions of their people. East and West hotly contended for her, no longer because she was alive, but in devotion to the mere shell of the life that had gone from her. Then, though still a focus in the diplomacy of empires and the shrine of several forms of faith, her politics were reduced to intrigue and her religion overlaid with super-

stition, for generations hardly touched by any visible heroism or even romance.

In all it has been thirty-three centuries of history, climbing slowly to the Central Fact of all time, and then toppling down upon itself in a ruin that has almost obliterated the scenes and monuments of the life which set her Alone among the cities of the world.

The bare catalogue of the disasters which have overtaken Jerusalem is enough to paralyse her topographer. Besides the earthquakes which have periodically rocked her foundations,[1] the City has endured nearly twenty sieges and assaults of the utmost severity, some involving a considerable, others a total, destruction of her walls and buildings;[2] almost twenty more blockades or military occupations, with the wreck or dilapidation of prominent edifices; the frequent alteration of levels by the razing of rocky knolls and the filling of valleys; about eighteen reconstructions, embellishments, and large extensions, including the imposition of novel systems of architecture, streets, drains and aqueducts, athwart the lines of the old; the addition of suburbs and the abandonment of parts of the inhabited area; while over all there gathered the dust and the waste of ordinary manufacture and commerce. Even such changes might not have been fatal to the restoration of the ancient topography, had the traditions which they interrupted been immediately resumed. But there also have happened two intervals of silence, after Nebuchadrezzar and after Hadrian, during which the City lay almost if not altogether desolate, and her natives were banished from her; five abrupt passages from one religion to another, which even more disastrously severed the con-

[1] Below, Bk. i. ch. iv. [2] For these and following statistics, see App. I.

tinuity of her story ; more than one outbreak of fanatic superstition creating new and baseless tradition ; as well as the long, careless chatter about the holy sites which has still further confused or obliterated the genuine memories of the past.

Before we put our hands to this *débris*, and stir its dust with the breath of a hundred controversies, it is necessary to fill in that general view of the position of the City which we have just taken with some detail of her surroundings and atmosphere ; and of the common life which, under every change of empire and of religion, has throbbed through her streets to the present day.

Jerusalem lies upon the mountain-range of Judæa, about 2400 feet above the sea, and some thirty-four miles from the coast of the Mediterranean. From the latter she is separated by a plain, which during the greater part of her history was in the hands of an alien and generally hostile race ; by low foot-hills ; and by the flank and watershed of the range itself. From the west, therefore, except for its rains and its winds, we must realise that Jerusalem stood almost completely aloof. The most considerable valley in the mountains on this side of her, after starting from the watershed a little to the north of her walls, drives its deep trench southward, as if to cut her off more rigorously from the maritime plain and the sea. Travellers by the modern road from Jaffa will remember how after this has seemed, by a painful ascent from Bab-el-Wâd, to attain the level of the City, it has to wind down the steep sides of the Wady Bêt-Ḥanînâ or Ḳuloniyeh, and then wind up again to the watershed. The only pass from the west that can be said to debouch upon Jerusalem is a

narrow and easily defended gorge, up which the present railway has been forced, but which can never have been used as a road of approach either by armies or by commercial caravans. Hence nearly all the great advances on Jerusalem have been made, even by Western Powers in command of the plain, either from further north, by the Beth-horon road, or from further south—by the passes upon Hebron and Bethlehem ; and then, in either case, along the backbone of the range, by the one main route near which the City stands.

Nor is Jerusalem perched upon the watershed itself, but lies upon the first narrow plateau to the east of this. As you stand at the Jaffa gate and look west, the watershed is the top of the first slope in front of you, and it shuts out all prospect of the west even from the towers and housetops. The view to the north is almost as short—hardly farther than to where the head of the hidden Wâdy Bêt-Ḥanîna—the precise water-parting—comes over into the faint beginnings of the valley of the Ḳidron, draining south-east to the Dead Sea. Above the course of this valley and between it and the watershed the ground slopes obliquely from the north-west. Just before the city-walls are reached, it divides into two spurs or promontories running south between the Ḳidron and the Wâdy er-Rabâbi and separated from each other by the now shallow glen, El-Wâd, once known as the Tyropœon. These spurs form the site of the city. Without going into the details of their configuration, we find enough for our present purpose in observing that the western is the higher of the two, and that running as they do southwards, the dip of them[1] and therefore the whole exposure of the city is to the east.

[1] According to Conder the dip of the strata is about 10° E.S.E.

JERUSALEM: LOOKING S.E. BETWEEN OLIVET AND JEBEL DEIR ABU TOR TO THE MOA

Taken from the Citadel.

JERUSALEM: LOOKING E. ACROSS THE HARAM ESH-SHERÎF TO THE MT. OF O

Taken from the roof of the Ashkenazim Synagogue.

ITE PLATEAU.

Plate II.

VIS

Jerusalem faces the sunrise, which strikes across the Mount of Olives and over the Ḳidron.

Yet this downward tilt towards Olivet does not exhaust the eastern bent and disposition of the City. We have seen that the west and north are entirely shut off. The blockade is carried round the north-east and east by Scopus and Olivet: the south is equally excluded by the ridge between the city and Bethlehem. In fact there is but one gap in the low and gentle horizon of hill tops, and this is to the south-east: giving view across the desert of Judæa and the hollow of the Dead Sea to the high range of Moab, cut only by the trench of the Arnon and battlemented towards its far southern end by the hill of Kerak. In certain states of the atmosphere, and especially when the evening sun shortens the perspective by intensifying the colour and size of the Moab mountains, the latter appear to heave up towards the city and to present to her the threshold of the Arabian desert immediately above the hills of her own wilderness. Thus, what Josephus says of the tower Psephinus is true of most of the housetops of Jerusalem. Their one 'full prospect is towards Arabia.'[1] The significance of which is obvious. It is as if Providence had bound over the city to eastern interests and eastern sympathies. Hidden from the west and the north, Jerusalem, through all her centuries, has sat facing the austere scenery of the Orient and the horizon of those vast deserts, out of which her people came to her. If the spell of this strikes even the western traveller as he passes a few evenings on her house-tops, he can the better understand why the

[1] *Vide* v. *B.J.* iv. 3: ἐπὶ γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα πήχεις ὑψηλὸς ὢν Ἀραβίαν τε ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου παρεῖχεν ἀφορᾶν καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης τὰ τῆς Ἑβραίων κληρουχίας ἔσχατα. For the outlook to Moab, see Plate I.

Greeks were not at home in Jerusalem, and why Hellenism, though not forty miles from the Levant, never made her its own; why even Christianity failed to hold her; and why the Mohammedan, as he looks down her one long vista towards Mecca, feels himself securely planted on her site.

The desert creeps close to the city gates. The blistered rocks and the wild ravines of the Wady of Fire[1] are within a short walk of the gardens of Siloam. From the walls the wilderness of Judæa can be traversed in a day, and beyond are the barren coast and bitter waters of the Dead Sea. The sirocco sweeps up unhindered; *a dry wind of the high places of the desert towards the daughter of my people, neither to fan nor to cleanse*;[2] gusty, parching, inflammatory and laden with sand when it comes from the south-east, but clear, cold and benumbing when in winter it blows off the eastern or north-eastern desert plateaus. It is difficult to estimate what effect this austere influence

[1] Wâdy-en-Nâr, the continuation to the Dead Sea of the Ḳidron valley.

[2] Jer. iv. 11. 'It is when the wind blows from the south-east that it acquires the peculiarities which Europeans usually signify by the term *sirocco*. The more the wind tends to the south the more dull and overcast is the sky, and the more disagreeable to the feelings the state of the atmosphere. The worst kind dries the mucous membrane of the air passages, producing a kind of inflammation resulting in catarrh and sore throat; it induces great lassitude, accelerated pulse, thirst, and sometimes actual fever. It dries and cracks furniture, and parches vegetation, sometimes withering whole fields of young corn. Its force is not usually great, but sometimes severe storms of wind and fine dust are experienced, the hot air burning like a blast from an oven, and the sand cutting the face of the traveller. This kind of air has a peculiar smell, not unlike that of the neighbourhood of a burning brick-kiln. Sometimes the most remarkable whirlwinds are produced. Clouds of sand fly about in all directions, and the gusts of wind are so violent as to blow weak persons from their horses and to overturn baggage animals.'—Abridged from Dr. Chaplin's account in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1883, p. 16. Sometimes towards harvest a day of this wind will prematurely ripen the grain. But the effect is precarious, and may readily pass into the result of blasting it.—*Diary*, 6th May 1904.

has exercised on the temperament of the City. A more calculable result in her history was produced by the convenience of the desert as a refuge when the native garrisons of Jerusalem could no longer hold out against their besiegers. Not only was the east the most natural direction of flight for David before Absalom, and for Zedekiah[1] when he broke with a few soldiers through the blockade of the Babylonian army; but the desert sheltered both the troops of Judas Maccabæus when Jerusalem was taken by the Seleucids, and those bands of zealots who escaped when Titus stormed the citadel and the sanctuary.

Conversely the life of the desert easily wanders into Jerusalem. There are always some Arabs in her streets. You will see one or two of the few Christians of that race worshipping—like Amos at Bethel—on some high festival about the Holy Sepulchre; and through the environs you will meet a caravan, with salt, skins, wool or dates from the Dead Sea or Ma'an, or even from Sinai. Except Damascus or Gaza no Syrian town gathers to itself more of the rumour of Peræa, or of Arabia, from the borders of Ḥauran to Mecca.[2] In was in or somewhere near Jerusalem that an observer wrote the lines:

> *I saw the tents of Kushán in affliction:*
> *The curtains of Midian's land were trembling,*[3]

—one of the finest expressions in any literature of the electric passage of tidings through the tremulous East.

[1] David and Zedekiah the first and last kings: 2 Sam. xv. ff., 2 Kings xxv. 4 f. See further Bk. ii. ch. x.

[2] Cf. Robinson, *B.R.* i. 366. In 1896, when the Turks were at war with the Druzes of Ḥauran and the Government had stopped the telegraphs, news of the conflicts reached the Jerusalem bazaars within a few days.

[3] Habakkuk iii. 7.

And so, too, it is Jerusalem, fully hidden from nearly every point of view in Western Palestine, which, of all sites on the latter, except Bethlehem, remains in most frequent evidence to the traveller on the east of the Jordan. From Machaerus I have seen her buildings with the morning sun upon them round the end of Olivet, and I believe that on a clear day they are also visible from Kerak. From Mount Nebo, from the hills above 'Arâḳ-el-'Emîr or Rabbath-Ammon, and I think, too, from the Jebel 'Ôsha' above es-Salṭ, the Russian tower on the Mount of Olives is always prominent.

The single trunk route which Jerusalem commands runs along the backbone of the western range, from Hebron to the north. It is one of the least important in Palestine. No passage by the city connects the east and west. The nearest—from the maritime plain by the Beth-horons and past Michmash to Jericho—is almost twelve miles away. Jerusalem, therefore, cannot be regarded as a natural centre of commerce. When she commanded the transit trade of Western Asia, and was in Ezekiel's words *the gate of the peoples*;[1] or when, in the days of her weakness, she excited the jealousy of her enemies lest she should again become strong enough to exact tribute and toll from them,[2] such an influence must have been due, not to the virtues of her site, but to her political rank as the capital of a strong and compact people entrenched upon the paths between Phœnicia and Edom. Nor was Jerusalem ever, so much as Damascus, Hebron or Gaza, a desert port or market for the nomads, from which they bought their cloth, pottery and weapons; nor, like Antioch or Mecca, had she (except for a very short period) a harbour of her

[1] Ezekiel xxvi. 2; LXX. [2] Ezra iv. 20 f.

own upon the sea. Even when she swayed the commerce of Palestine and Arabia, her influence was political and financial rather than commercial;[1] the only trade that came to her was due to her comparatively large population, or to her Temple and the multitude of its annual pilgrims. Her industries were also local—potteries, weaving, fulling and dyeing and, later, soap-making. Beyond oil she exported nothing of her own except to the neighbouring villages.

Another feature of life, conspicuous by its meagreness in the district in which Jerusalem stands, is the water supply. The upper strata of the neighbourhood are of that porous limestone, through which, as in the greater part of Western Palestine, the rain sinks to a considerable depth and living springs are far between. The only point in the environs of the City where the lower, harder rocks now throw up water to the surface is in the Ḳidron Valley immediately under the wall of Ophel; and this supply, secured for the City even in times of siege by a tunnel through the rock, was supplemented by the reservoirs, for which Jerusalem has always been famous, and which were fed from the rain caught upon the multitude of her roofs. These gave the city, when blockaded, an advantage over most of her besiegers, who found no springs in her immediate neighbourhood, and in several cases were ignorant of any even at a distance.[2] To which facts we may attribute the brevity and failure of several blockades,[3] as well as the unwillingness of every great

[1] This is especially obvious in Josephus.

[2] Such as the copious well at 'Ain Kârim, from which the upper classes in Jerusalem still carry water because of its purity.

[3] Such as those of the Nabateans in 63 B.C., and of Cestius Gallus in 66 A.D.

invader to come near to Jerusalem till he had made very sure of his base of supplies in the lower country round about.[1] The City's strength, then, was this: that, while tolerably well watered herself, she lay where her besiegers could find not much food and scarcely any water. Strabo describes her thus: 'The site is rocky, and surrounded by a strong *enceinte*; within well provided with water, but without absolutely arid.'[2]

The immediate surroundings of Jerusalem are bare and rocky; with some exceptions they can hardly ever have been otherwise. The grey argillaceous soil is shallow, stony, and constantly interrupted by scalps, ledges and knolls of naked limestone. In the sides and bottoms of the wadies green patches are visible; but the only natural gardens are those fed from the overflow of the one spring in the valley of the Ḳidron. On the north-west of the City, the winter rains render the ground swampy: for example, in the Khallet el-Ḳasabe 'the little valley of the reeds,' where reeds still grow, and in the Khallet eṭ-Ṭarḥa. Here and there the environs show fields of grain or vegetables; and one of the northern gates was called Genath, 'the garden.'[3] The foliage to-day is nearly altogether that of the olive-trees, scattered at intervals in the stony orchards on the hill-sides, or down the Ḳidron and the Wâdy er-Rabâbi. The vineyards are few. Within the walls

[1] Cf. *H.G.H.L.* 298 ff. for Vespasian, Titus and Saladin. Thus also may be partly explained the long delay of Richard I. in the Shephelah, and his ultimate abandonment of the advance on Jerusalem.

[2] *Geog.* xvi. 40. Dion Cassius (lxvi. 4) puts the same fact more vividly in his account of the siege by Titus: *τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ ἀνυδρίᾳ ἐκακοπάθουν, καὶ φαῦλον, καὶ πόῤῥωθεν ὕδωρ ἐπαγόμενοι· οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἴσχυον.* Similar evidence from the Crusades, Will. of Tyre *Hist.* viii. 4, 7, 24. The water-supply of Jerusalem forms the subject of ch. v. of Bk. i. of this volume.

[3] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 2. See below, p. 243.

there are less than half a dozen palms, exotic at this altitude, and some other trees in the garden of the Armenian monastery. The sycomore, the chief source of timber in Judæa, does not grow at so high a level. Whether in ancient times the groves of olive were more numerous, or whether trees of other species ever clothed the surrounding hills, are questions difficult to answer. Olivet has almost lost its title to the name, by the Jewish graveyards and Christian buildings which have recently multiplied on the face opposite the City, and is now excelled in greenery by the western slope towards the watershed. But in ancient times the Mount of Olives would hardly have been called so, had it not stood out in conspicuous contrast to the other hills. One can well believe that its north-western flank, the high basins between it and Scopus, and its eastern folds towards Bethany were once covered with trees. They are still fertile and support a number of orchards.[1] The Jews who returned to Jerusalem after the Exile were bidden *to go up into the mountain and bring wood*[2] for building, but this may not have been in the immediate neighbourhood. Josephus mentions a timber-market;[3] but probably it was for imported beams, and even most of the fuel may have come from a distance. Where the royal park lay from which Nehemiah was empowered to obtain timber,[4] we do not know. It is striking how seldom any tree appears in the present place-names of the immediate environs.[5] One has to walk several miles before encountering the

[1] Jerome, on Jerem. vii. 30, mentions groves in Hinnom where olives still flourish. See Plate III.

[2] Haggai i. 8.

[3] ii. *B.J.* xix. 4.

[4] Neh. ii. 8, cf. 1 Chron. xxvii. 28.

[5] See below, Bk. ii. ch. iv.

name of the oak, the plane-tree, the tamarisk or the thorn, and the nearest wood is three miles down the railway.[1] The latter instances prove that such trees could grow around Jerusalem, and the bareness of her suburbs during the Arab period may be due to the number of her sieges. We know that Pompey cleared away the trees, and one hundred and thirty-three years later Titus is said to have done so for a distance of ninety stadia from the walls, and, in particular, to have cut down all the groves and orchards to the north on the line of the main assault.[2] There may, therefore, have been periods in which the hills engirdling the City were much more green than they are to-day; but if this was the case, it has left no reflection in literature. We do not read of woods about Jerusalem. It is *mountains* which stand round her;[3] and except for Olivet, and perhaps Bezetha and Bethphage, there is in the neighbouring place-names of the Bible no trace of trees.[4]

The climate of Jerusalem is easily described, especially since the details have been reduced to statistics by the scientific observations of the last forty years.[5] As through-

[1] *P.E.F. Large Map*, Sheet xvii., and Schick's *Karte der Weiteren Umgebung von Jerusalem*, *Z.D.P.V.* xix., with the list and explanation of names accompanying.

[2] Josephus vi. *B.J.* i. 1, viii. 1; v. *B.J.* iii. 2. [3] Ps. cxxxv. 2.

[4] Bezetha may equal Beth-zaith, *house of olives*: Bethphage may be *h. of the green fig*. In 680 A.D. Arculf found few trees on Olivet except vines and olives. In Crusading times woods of any importance were found near Jerusalem only on the west of its territory, Belle-fontaine, St. Jean des Bois, Emmaus, and also north of Hebron.—Rey, *Colonies Franques*, *etc.*, 239.

[5] The observer to whom we owe most of these is the late Dr. Chaplin, whose vivid paper, 'Observations on the Climate of Jerusalem,' *P.E.F.Q.*, 1883, pp. 8 ff., accompanied by numerous tables giving the result of observations between 1860-1 and 1881-2, ought to be studied by all who wish to understand the climate, not of Jerusalem only, but of all Palestine (cp. O. Kersten, *Z.D.P.V.* xiv. 93 ff.). See also the works quoted below, p. 77 f., on the 'Rainfall.'

out Syria, the year is divided into two seasons, a rainy winter and a dry summer, but at so high an elevation the extremes are greater and the changes more capricious than in the rest of Palestine. With an annual rainfall about that of London,[1] the city receives this within seven months of the year—a quarter of it in January alone[2]—and through the other five, May to October, is without more than a few showers. July is absolutely rainless; June, August and September practically so. The drought is softened by heavy dews and by dense mists, which trail away swiftly in face of the sunrise. The temperature, with a mean of 62°,[3] has also its extremes. Not only is winter colder than on the plains, but the summer heat mounts higher and is more trying. In fifteen years there was an average of thirty-eight days on which the thermometer was above 90°—on twenty-eight occasions from 100° to 108°; and an average of fifty-five nights on which it fell under 40°, with 107 descents to or below freezing-point.[4] Ice is therefore formed but does not last through the day. Snow has fallen in fourteen seasons out of thirty-two; for the most part in small quantity, and soon melted; but sometimes

[1] 25·23 inches on an average of thirty-two years, 1861-1892; Glaisher, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1894, p. 41. Hilderscheid (p. 34) calculates the average of thirty-nine years at Dr. Chaplin's station within the walls as 26·05 (661·8 mm.).

[2] December, February and March are the next most rainy months in that order. The rains begin to fall either in October or November, the latter rains in the end of March, but lessening through April.

[3] Fahrenheit; 1882-1896, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1898, 202 f.

[4] Glaisher, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1898, pp. 183 ff. In Sarona, near Jaffa, the number of days in which the mercury rose above 90° in ten years varied annually from 8 to 39 (average 23·6); the nights in which it fell below 40° varied from 2 to 15 (average 6·5), *P.E.F.Q.*, 1891, pp. 165, 170. Chaplin (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1898, p. 184) reports for Jerusalem once 112° and (*id.* 1883, Tab. xiv.) once 25·0° (in January).

there are heavy snowstorms, and the drifts lie in the hollows of the hills for two or three weeks.[1] After both snow and rain the clayey soil will be muddy for days, but the porous limestone prevents the formation of swamps;[2] and although the air may continue damp, it is not in itself unhealthy. The present malariousness of the City at certain seasons arises from the masses of *débris*. Rain and snow have been known to last for thirteen or fourteen days in succession, but usually the winter rains fall for one or two days at a time, and these are followed by one or more of fine weather, 'some of the most enjoyable that the climate of Palestine affords.'[3]

One rainy day I vividly remember; it was typical of many. Clouds coming up from the sea on a westerly wind, their skirts were caught upon the watershed, while the rest hurried raining over the City. Blue sky broke between; the wet house-tops and the green and grey of the surrounding hills glistened with a brief reflection. Then the gap closed, and beneath the compact pall all became dark, the olive-groves turning to black and the limestone ridges by contrast to a white as of long-bleached bones. The wind was chill and mournful, and brought up to one the keynote of the ancient dirge—

'*When the Lord beclouds with his wrath*
The daughter of Ṣion.'[4]

When the winter east wind comes, it is clear and dry, but sometimes benumbing. The sirocco, or south-east

[1] Chaplin, p. 11. In December 1879 the fall of snow was 17 inches. On March 14, 1880, it was 5 inches; and I remember the consequent mud and cold when I reached Jerusalem in the end of the month.

[2] With the transient exceptions mentioned above, p. 16.

[3] Chaplin, *op. cit.* p. 9.

[4] Lam. ii. 1.

wind, with its distressing heat and dull atmosphere of sand,[1] blows at frequent intervals in April, May and October. The daily breeze from the sea during summer[2] does not always reach Jerusalem, and when it does, has often been robbed of its refreshing qualities:[3] the reason of the excess of the summer heats over those of the coast. The summer dusts are thick: at that height easily stirred and irritating. The long drought, exhausting many of the reservoirs, and the sultry nights, robbed of moisture by the failure of the west wind, are more dangerous to health than the rainy season. From May till October 'the climatic diseases of the country, such as ophthalmia, fevers and dysentery, are most prevalent.'[4]

On the whole, then, the climate of Jerusalem is temperate and healthy; but with rigours both of cold and heat. Except during the sirocco and some dusty summer days, the atmosphere is clear and stimulating. There is no mirage in the air, nor any glamour, save when, sometimes at evening, the glowing Moab hills loom upon

[1] See above, p. 12. [2] *H.G.H.L.* p. 520.

[3] Chaplin, p. 15. The west wind has been observed 55 times in a year. The prevailing wind at Jerusalem is the north-west, blowing from 100 to 150 days in the year. Dr. Masterman kindly writes me, 'Your note implies that the west wind is rare; this is of course quite a mistake, as it is almost a constant feature from midday onwards. Now in June, for example, we have quite a stiff breeze almost daily from noon till the small hours of the next morning. Many days, and still more nights, it amounts to quite a gale. Dr. Chaplin's figures only refer to the direction of the wind at nine in the morning. As the observations are made in my own house for the Fund, I know this well.'

[4] Chaplin, p. 20. Dr. Masterman writes:—'I suppose any medical man now would be apt to cavil at the idea of any "air" [see previous page] being malarious, but that Jerusalem is an extremely malarious place, especially, of course, in the summer months, my daily work shows. I could fill our hospital here several times over with malaria cases only. There is no season free from this scourge, and travellers in the spring, not at all infrequently, are affected.'

the City, or when the orange moon rises from behind them, and by her beams you feel, but cannot fathom, the awful hollow of the Dead Sea. But these touches of natural magic are evanescent, and the prevailing impression is of a bare landscape beneath a plain atmosphere, in which there is no temptation to illusion nor any suggestion of mystery. This is no doubt part of the reason why the visitor is so often disappointed by an atmosphere which he expected to fascinate him. Let him reflect that this very plainness is significant. He must bring the spell with him out of the history ; and his appreciation of it will only be enhanced by the discovery that Nature has lent almost nothing to its original creation.

In such surroundings and such an atmosphere, Jerusalem sits upon her two promontories in the attitude already described : facing the Mount of Olives and looking obliquely through the one gap of her encircling hills towards the desert and the long high edge of Moab. The ravines which encompass the promontories—the valley of the Ḳidron and the Wâdy er-Rabâbi—determine the extreme limits of the town on the east, the south and the west. They enclose a space, roughly speaking, of about half a mile square. It will be our duty to inquire how much of this was occupied by houses or girdled by walls at successive stages of the history : questions which are the subject of much dispute. But for our present purpose —which is to recall some image of the Essential City, the same which through so many centuries has grown and adorned herself, and been trampled and suffered ruin —it is sufficient to take as much as we can of the present town and its most prominent features. Virtually upon her ancient seat Jerusalem still sits and at much the same

slope; rising, that is, from the edge of the Ḳidron valley up the same easy ascent to the constant line of her western wall. Only her skirts do not extend, as they did in ancient times, over the southern ends and declivities of the two promontories; but these lie bare and open, even the ruins of their walls being buried out of sight. As we shall see, the present shape of the City is no natural growth, but the stamp which her Roman conquerors impressed upon her. Along with the mouth of the Tyropœon, that opens between them, the inferior parts of those southern declivities formed the lowest portion of the ancient city, from which stairs and steep lanes led to the Temple terrace over the Ḳidron. This terrace is now the lowest stretch of the city; it remains what it always was, a large court with a sanctuary, and at its north-west corner there are barracks and a tower on the site of what was once a citadel.[1] To the north the ground, after a depression representing an ancient fosse is passed, rises somewhat quickly and is covered with houses: once a suburb, but now within the walls. To the west of the sanctuary-platform the houses, also thickly clustering, dip for a little—above the once deeper depression of the Tyropœon, the line of which is still visible across the city from north to south—and then the roofs slowly but steadily rise till they culminate in the tower of Herod and the present citadel by the Jaffa gate.

Looking down upon this sloping city, either from one of its own towers or from the Mount of Olives, we are struck by the crowding of its houses. Except round the sanctuary, and for almost imperceptible intervals at the gates and a few other sites, there are no open spaces or

[1] Antonia of the Roman period.

even open lines; for there are no streets or squares, but only close and sombre lanes, climbing steeply from the Temple Court to the west, or, at right angles to these, dipping more gently from north to south.[1] And so it must nearly[2] always have been. *Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together.*[3] The locusts, besiegers and death are pictured by the Prophets as entering the windows and houses directly from the walls.[4] Throughout the Old Testament we read of *streets* very seldom, and then probably not in the proper sense of the name, which is *broad places*, but under a poetic licence.[5] Even in Isaiah's time it is only on the housetops,[6] or on the walls,[7] that we see the whole population gathered for a purpose which is not religious. Josephus frequently mentions the 'narrow streets,' and the fighting from the housetops.[8] Through these lanes, ever close, steep and sombre as they are to-day, there beats the daily stir of the City's common life: the passage of her buzzing crowds, rumour and the exchange of news, the carriage of goods, trading and the smaller industries, the search for slaves and criminals, the bridal processions, the funerals, the tide of worshippers to the Temple, and occasionally the march of armed men. And through them also raged, as Josephus describes, the fighting, the sacking, the slaughter: all the fine-drawn pangs and anguish of the days of the City's overthrow.

Above these narrow arteries, through which her hot

[1] Cf. Lam. iv. 1; *the top of every street.*

[2] The early Christian Jerusalem showed a line of columned street, from the present Damascus gate southwards.

[3] Ps. cxxii. 3.

[4] Joel ii. 9; Jer. ix. 21 [20].

[5] Lam. ii. 11, 12; iv. 18; Jer. ix. 21 [20]: 'rĕhōbŏth.'

[6] xxii. 1.: *What ailest thou that thou art wholly gone up to the housetops!*

[7] xxxvi. 11.

[8] *B.J.*, e.g. I. xviii. 2; II. xv. 5; V. viii. 1 (*bis*); VI. viii. 5: οἱ στενωποί.

blood raced, Jerusalem, to the outside world, showed clean and fair: a high-walled white city; steep and compact, but with one level space, where since the time of Solomon her Temple rose, and since the Exile there were no secular buildings.

This is as much of the ancient City as by light of day we dare reconstruct from her present condition. For the strong eastern sun aggravates the nakedness of those slopes to the south which were once covered with houses and girt by walls; emphasises the modern buildings and the fashions of western life that everywhere obtrude; and flattens still further the shallow ravines, which, before they were choked with the *débris* of so many sieges, lifted the city high and gallant above their precipitous sides. He who would raise again the Essential City must wait for night, when Jerusalem hides her decay, throws off every modern intrusion, feels her valleys deepen about her, and rising to her proper outline, resumes something of her ancient spell. At night, too, or in the early morning, the humblest and most permanent habits of her life may be observed, unconfused by the western energies which are so quickly transforming and disguising her.

It was a night in June, when from a housetop I saw her thus. There was a black sky with extremely brilliant stars; the city, not yet fallen asleep, sparkled with tiny lights. I could scarcely discern the surrounding hills. Moab was invisible. After an hour a paleness drew up in the south-east, the sky gradually lightened to a deep blue, the stars shone silver, and a blood-red gibbous moon crept suddenly above the edge of Moab, and looked over into the Dead Sea. The sleeping city was now dark, lying in huddled folds of black, save where, through a wider gap,

one palm and the dome of the Ashkenazim synagogue stood out against the pearly mist of the Moab hills. But as the moon fully struck her, Jerusalem seemed to turn in her sleep, and in something of her ancient outline, lifted herself, grey and ghostly, to the light. I descended, and issuing by the Jaffa gate, saw her in another aspect: the western wall alive, erect and grim against the sky, while its shadow deepened the valley below. The wall is Turkish, and only a few centuries old, but even so must the ramparts and the towers of Herod have looked to the night-guards in the Roman trenches. A caravan of camels came up from the Hebron road; the riders in white abbas swaying over the necks of their beasts, that with long strides paced noiselessly upon the thick dust. They stopped outside the gate, the camels were made to kneel, the bales were loosened from their backs, and stacked upon the ground; the men lay down beside them, and in a few minutes were asleep. No wind stirred, and except for spasms of barking from the street dogs, answered now and then from a far-away village, scarcely a sound broke the silence. The moonshine at last turned the wall and touched the muddy water at the lower end of the great reservoir beyond. A pair of jackals stole down to drink, but fled before the yelp of the dogs. For the next two hours nothing stirred but the wash of breeze through the olives on Nikophorieh; till the cocks crew, and two horsemen came through the gate, the first apparently for the long ride to Jaffa, the second by the Birket Mamilla for the Gaza road down the Wâdy el-Werd. Looking up to the edge of the citadel, one could see how Herod had built his tower there to command these approaches, as well as that from Hebron and the south.

I returned to the housetop. The sky had grown blue in the lower east, and above that from purple to pink. Swifts began to fly past the houses: thronging at last till the air was thick with them. A bugle rang out from the citadel, and was answered up the town from Antonia; challenge and answer were several times repeated. In the hollow between Scopus and the Mount of Olives the sky grew red. Two camels entered the Jaffa gate laden with lemons, and knelt groaning upon the pavement; the netting burst and the lemons spilt into the shadow. A fruit-seller set out his wares on a basket. A black woman, some porters, and a few sleepy soldiers, crossed the open space inside the gate. In the eastern sky the crimson had spread to pink, which was followed by a deep yellow, and the first beams of the sun broke across Olivet. The Latin clock struck five. A detachment of soldiers were threading their way up from Antonia, invisible, but bugling loudly. They broke on the street near the castle, and, forming fours, passed over to the drawbridge. The lower city, the sanctuary and its court, caught the sunshine, and life grew busy. Lines of camels laden with charcoal stalked through the gate; followed by donkeys with wood for fuel. A man swept the street, and a boy put the refuse in a bag on a donkey's back. The barber and the knife-grinder took up their posts on the pavement. A small flock of sheep, peasants with eggs and cucumbers, and (since it was a summer of more than usual drought) a line of water-carriers from 'Ain Kârim, entered together in a small crowd. There was a shuffling of many feet on the pavements, and in the bazaars the merchants were opening their booths.

So Jerusalem must have looked by night to Herod when

his dreams drove him to the housetop. So Solomon's caravans may have come up in the moonlight from Elath and from Jaffa. So the sick king must have heard the swifts screaming past his window. So, in the Roman occupation, the bugles rang out from the tower, and were answered from Antonia. And, so through all the centuries, the dawn has broken upon Jerusalem, and the hewers of wood and drawers of water, the peasants with their vegetables, the sheep for the temple sacrifices, and all the common currents of the City's life, have passed with the sunrise through the gates, and stirred the gloom of the narrow lanes with the business of another day.

BOOK I

THE TOPOGRAPHY

SITES AND NAMES

CHAPTER I

THE SITE OF THE CITY

JERUSALEM lies (as we have seen) immediately to the east of, and slightly below, the main ridge or water-parting of the Judæan range. That ridge running southwards at an average height of over 2600 feet trends a little to the west, just south of the village Sha'fât about a mile and a half from the north wall of the City, and then runs south again at 2685 (818·58 m.), 2669 (813·71 m.), and slightly lower elevations past the City till it falls to about 2450 feet (746·95 m.), on the plain el-Buḳei'a, commonly held to be the ancient Rephaim. The main ridge thus forms the western side of a rough triangle, of which the eastern is a spur of its own that leaves it where it trends west, and running south-east and south at about 2680 feet (*c.* 817 m.), culminates in the summit of the Mount of Olives, 2693 (*c.* 821 m.);[1] while the southern side is formed to the east of el-Buḳei'a by a hill running eastward, the Jebel Deir Abu Ṭôr, traditionally known as the Hill of Evil Counsel, 2550 feet high (777·43 m.). These are the mountains that are round about Jerusalem.

The Hills round about.

[1] This appears to be the figure on the Large P.E.F. map at the village et-Ṭor. The Memoirs, iii. p. 2, give the highest elevation as 2680 (817 *m.*), Baedeker's and Schick's maps of the nearer environs of Jerusalem, have 812 m., 2664 at the Russian Tower, but further n. at Karm eṣ-ṣaiyad 818 m., 2684 ft. (*Z.D.P.V.* xviii. 157); Wilson (Smith's *B.D.* 1587) gives 2641 feet at Ch. of Ascension.

The space they enclose is about 2½ miles, north and south, by 1½ at its greatest breadth. It may be roughly described as a triangular basin declining from its north-western side, that is nearly on the level of the main ridge or about 2550 feet (777 m.), to its south-eastern angle, where its only outlet runs by the W. en-Nâr, between the Mount of Olives and the Jebel Deir Abu Ṭôr at a level of about 1980 feet (603.6 m.). At first a high plateau, it hollows eastward with the beginnings of the W. Sitti Mariam, here known as the W. ej-Jôz, and recovering for a little, just outside of the present north wall of the city breaks up into three distinct valleys or gorges with two promontories between them, all in the main running south. The eastmost valley is the W. Sitti Mariam, along the base of the Mount of Olives. The middle one is el-Wâd, which separates the two promontories. The western one is the W. er-Rabâbi, which first runs south under the main ridge and then turns sharply eastwards under the Jebel Deir Abu Ṭôr, to join the other two at the outlet from the basin.

The Basin within them.

The two rocky promontories running south from the plateau, with the valley el-Wâd between them, form the site of the City proper. On the north they merge across its head in the plateau. But the Wâdies Sitti Mariam and er-Rabâbi deeply entrench them on the east, south and west; by their steep sides providing almost impregnable bulwarks against siege, as well as impassable limits to the City's building. The north, therefore, is the only direction from which a foe can attack Jerusalem or towards which the City may extend herself. Of the two promontories, that between the Wâdies Sitti Mariam and el-Wâd is known, in the topography of Jerusalem, as

The City's Site Proper.

V. of Hinnom. S.W. Hill.

The

the East Hill; that between el-Wâd and er-Rabâbi as the West Hill. The West Hill is the higher and more extended of the two, overlooking, and on the south overreaching, the end of the other. The two may be roughly likened to a thumb and forefinger pointing south, the latter somewhat curved. The hand in which they merge to the north is the plateau.

The East Hill.

The East Hill, or promontory, really starts from the plateau north of the present city-wall near the Church of St. Stephen, and runs between the W. Sitti Mariam and el-Wâd southward to its lowest point at Siloam: approximately 1968 yards (1800 m.) long, or nearly a mile and an eighth; narrow and falling steeply on either side into the Wâdy Sitti Mariam and el-Wâd, which are now choked with *débris*, but were once 20 to 40 feet deeper. The East Hill has now four summits; but anciently had perhaps five. The northmost is outside the present City: the knoll el-Edhemîyeh 2549 feet (about 777 m.) above the sea. The long trench between it and the city-wall is artificial, some think on the line of an ancient, natural gully running east into the W. Sitti Mariam. The second summit of the East Hill is within the north-east angle of the present City, the Mohammedan quarter, anciently Bezetha: on which some of the levels, above the entrance to the Royal Quarries, are 2524 feet (769·5 m.)[1] East of this summit the East Hill was cleft from north to south in ancient times by a ravine which begins to sink from the plateau outside the north wall, north-east of el-Edhemîyeh, and may be traced under that

[1] According to the Ordnance Survey; see *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 279, No. 90. Kuemmel (*Materialien zur Topogr. des Alten Jerus.* p. 21) quotes from Karl Zimmermann a slightly higher level here: 771 m.

wall, past the Church of St. Anne (where it is 2411 feet or 735 m.) into the present Birket Israil (2344 or 714·3 m.), from which it bends eastward a little, and beneath the north-east corner of the Ḥaram area issues on the W. Sitti Mariam, just north of the Golden Gate, at a level of about 2230 feet or 680 m.[1] On the west of this gully the East Hill runs south by a narrow saddle to the prominent rock (2462 feet, 750·3 m.),[2] on which the castle Antonia was built, the site of the present Turkish barracks. From this point the original gradients of the East Hill are masked by the artificial platform of the Ḥaram esh-Sherîf, the ancient Temple area, the general level of which is about 2420 feet (*circa* 737 m.).[3] The next original summit, however, the fourth, may be taken to be the Rock eṣ-Ṣakhra, beneath the great Dome, 2440 feet or nearly 744 metres. From this the natural hill declines rapidly southwards beneath the present mosque el-Aḳṣâ and (I reserve in the meantime the question whether it originally rose once more into a hump or knoll south of the Ḥaram) more gradually falls to about 2100 feet (640 m.) at Siloam. On this last slope, a triangle between the W. Sitti Mariam and el-Wâd, which join at its lowest point, stood the ancient Ophel, south of the Temple area.

The West Hill.

The West Hill really starts from the watershed itself and declines south-east along the Jaffa road to the north-west angle of the present walls. From this to its southern limit in the W. er-Rabâbi, just below the eastward curve of the latter, it measures some

[1] Sir Charles Wilson has given the name 'St. Anne's' to this ravine: *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, 25 f. and Plan. Some take it to be the Chaphenatha of 1 Macc. xii. 37.

[2] *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 16.

[3] But the central platform averages 2434 to 2435 feet, 742 m.

1,300 yards (about 1189 m.) but diagonally to its furthest point below Siloam at the junction of the three valleys 1614 yards (*c.* 1476 m.), while of course if we take it from the watershed it is much longer still. The West Hill was like the East, divided by a ravine, in this case a second head of the valley el-Wâd, which, descending from a saddle by the site of the present Jaffa Gate, followed the line of the present David Street. The hill to the north of this ravine, known as the North-west Hill, on the slope of which the Church of the Sepulchre lies, rises in the north-west corner of the City as high as 2581 feet (or 786·5 m.). The hill to the south of the ravine, known as the South-west Hill, the traditional Sion, is disposed in three terraces running north and south. The western and highest, on which the Citadel, the Armenian gardens and the Cœnaculum now stand, is from 2550 to 2520 feet (777 to 768 m.); the second, to the south of the street leading north from Sion Gate, varies from 2500 to 2430 (762 to 740·5 m.); there is then a sudden drop over a long scarp to the third, 2400 to 2360 feet (731·5 to 719·5 m.), which is nearly on the present level of the valley el-Wâd, where this passes the south-west corner of the Ḥaram. But further south the South-west Hill descends from the Cœnaculum, 2519 (768 m.), even more rapidly and deeply to the level of Siloam, about 2080 (634 m.).

We take now the central valley, el-Wâd, between the the East and West Hills. Of all the natural features of the site, this—one of the most important historically, for there can be no doubt that it is the Tyropœon of Josephus—has suffered most from the manifold wrecking and waste of the City. Choked with the *débris*, that has rolled into it from the ruined slopes on

The Central Valley: el-Wâd.

either side, its original bed lies from 20 to 90 feet below the present surface; while the houses which fill its northern part enhance the first casual impression that the West Hill sweeps over to the Temple Area on the East Hill without a break. Yet from any of the towers or housetops on the former, which command a view of all Jerusalem, the line of the central valley is still visible down the whole of its course from just outside the Damascus Gate, where it first sinks in the plateau, to its fall into the W. en-Nâr below Siloam; in all about 1640 yards (*c.* 1500 m.)[1] This faintly perceptible line of valley is one of the first features of the City which the visitor on his arrival should master; and he must then deepen his impression of it by a study of the following figures, which show the differences between the levels of the present surface and those at which the officers of the English survey found the rock below, on approximately the original bed of the valley.[2] Just outside the Damascus Gate, or Gate of Columns, the ground is 2474, and just inside 2462 feet (754 and 750·6 m.). Down the long 'Street of the Gate of Columns,' it sinks gradually till past the barracks—the ancient Antonia. Opposite the north-west angle of the Temple area it is 2413 (735·5 m.), but the rock is here only 2369 (722 m.). Opposite the summit of the East Hill, eṣ-Ṣakhra, 2440 feet (744 m.), the present level of the valley is about 2400 feet (731·5 m.),

[1] That is, measuring from about 66 yards to the north of the Damascus Gate, but perhaps the measure should start from even a little further north.

[2] The contours of the rock are taken from the 'Rock Contours of Jerusalem,' by Lieut.-Col. [now Major-Gen. Sir] C. Warren, R.E., 'from the records of the Excavations, from the Ordnance Survey, and from levels supplied by Herr C. Schick and others,' Plates II. and III. in the *P.E.F.* portfolio of *Excavations at Jerusalem*. The surface levels are, as before, from the *P.E.F. Plan of Jerusalem*, by Sir Charles Wilson.

but the rock is found below the 2349 contour (716 m.): more than 50 feet of difference. Below the south-west angle of the Temple area (under which the bed of the valley passes) the ground is about 2382 (726 m.), the rock is just on the 2289 contour (697·8 m.), and from this the descent is rapid to the Lower Pool of Siloam: ground about 2100 (640 m.), rock 2049 (624·6 m.).[1] These figures prove that in the earliest times the central valley, el-Wâd, must have run from 20 to 90 feet deeper than it does to-day between the East and the West Hills.

Taking together all these details of the three principal constituents of the Site of Jerusalem, the East Hill, the West Hill, and the Valley between them, we are able to form a general view of the City, and to grasp the dominant features of her site. *First*, then, we notice that the extreme slope or fall of the site is from the north-west angle of the present City (which is the summit,[2] within the walls, of the North-west Hill) 2581 feet (786·5 m.), diagonally to the south-east angle at the mouth of el-Wâd between the ends of the two hills, just under 2100 feet (640 m.): a difference of 480 feet (*c.* 146 m.). The whole exposure and prospect of the Site is thus to the south-east, and towards what we have seen to be the only break in the ring of higher hills which encircle it. *Second*, we notice that the crowning elevation of the North-west Hill is—after the narrow ravine is passed which descends from the Jaffa Gate to the middle valley—fairly sustained along the whole of the long top of the South-west

Results of the foregoing.

1. Main Dip of the Site—S.E.

2. Dominance of the West Hill.

[1] Here of course there was probably always more soil than in the upper stretches of the valley.

[2] Ḳala'at or Ḳaṣr Jâlûd, 'Goliath's Castle.'

Hill, 2550[1] to 2520 feet (777 to 768 m.); or from 200 to 260 feet (61 to 79 m.) above the levels of the middle valley below the Temple area, and even 110 feet (33·5 m.) above the summit of the East Hill, eṣ-Ṣakhrah. *Third*, though this is so, and the West Hill is altogether more massive and commanding than the East, yet the original depth of the valley between them must, in the conditions of ancient war, have rendered the East Hill completely free of the West, and capable of independent occupation and defence; and in connection with this we must not fail to note, that while the whole of the West Hill is without natural water supply, the one good spring of the district lies immediately at the base of the East Hill in the Wâdy Sitti Mariam. But, *fourth*, while the East Hill is thus independent of the West Hill, the mouth of the valley between them is not. The South-west Hill absolutely commands it. These are facts which we shall find critical when we come to determine the size of the City at various periods. In the ancient conditions of war the East Hill might be held by itself independently of the West; but so soon as its inhabitants brought the waters of their only spring by the well known rock tunnel under the East Hill to the Pool of Siloam, they must for the security of the latter have held the South-west Hill as well.

3. Independence of the East Hill.

4. But not of the Pool of Siloam.

We proceed now to the two great valleys which surround the site of Jerusalem upon three sides and meet at its south-east angle: the W. Sitti Mariam or Valley of the Ḳidron, and the W. er-Rabâbi, which is most generally identified with the valley of the Son of Hinnom.

The Encompassing Valleys.

[1] This is the present surface. Warren's highest *rock* level on the S.-W. Hill is 2532.

The Valley of the Ḳidron starts (as we have seen) well to the north of the present City, on the plateau, and not far from the main watershed itself. The Nablus road, slightly rising from the Damascus Gate (2474 feet, 754 m.), begins to fall again between the Dominican Church of St. Stephen and the Anglican Bishop's residence (highest point 2533 feet, 772 m.), into a shallow basin just north-west of the Tombs of the Kings. This basin on the west of the road is known as W. ej-Jôz and has a level of about 2490 feet (759 m.).[1] Descending eastward under the name W. 'Akabet es-Sāwān, it has fallen at the 'Anâta road (600 yds. north of the north-east angle of the City) to about 2350 (716·3 m.). Here it turns sharply south, running between the East Hill of the City and the Mount of Olives: about a mile and a half from the turn to the Bîr Eiyûb. While under the East Hill, it is known as the W. Sitti Mariam, or Valley of our Lady Mary. The name W. en-Nâr, which is sometimes applied to the whole of it, properly begins after its junction with the W. er-Rabâbi. As, owing to the accumulations of rubbish in it, the present surface is always from 10 to 50 feet above the ancient bed, it will be necessary to give the rock levels throughout this part of its course, as well as the rock levels under the line of ancient wall along the edge of the East Hill, in order to form an idea of the depth to which the Valley entrenched the Hill.

Wâdy Sitti Mariam.

[1] Schick's Map of the near environs gives 749 m.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ROCK AND SURFACE LEVELS ON THE EAST HILL AND KIDRON VALLEY.

*** The Metres are approximate within ·4.

	Rock Levels under East City Wall.	Rock Levels in the Bed of the Kidron.	Levels of present Surface of the Bed of the Kidron.
1. At N.-E. Angle of City, . . .	Feet, 2,457 Metres, 749	2,289 698	2,300 (?) 701 (?)
2. At Fragment of Ancient Wall before 'the Golden Gate,' .	Feet, 2,339 Metres, 713	2,229 679·5	2,279 695
3. Opposite the 'Tomb of Absalom,' . .	Feet, 2,329 Metres, 710	2,189 667	2,229 679·5
4. At S.-E. Angle of Ḥaram Area, . .	Feet, 2,279 Metres, 695	2,169 661	2,193 668·5
5. At Well of our Lady Mary, . . .	Feet, 2,229 Metres, 679·5	2,079 634	2,111 (?) 643·5
6. At Mouth of El-Wâd under old Wall, .	Feet, 2,039 Metres, 621·5	1,979 603	2,033 (?) 619·5
7. At Bîr Eiyûb, . .	Feet, Metres,	Below 1,929 588	1,979 603

We thus see that the rock bottom of the Kidron Valley, which is approximately at the same level as the original bed of the valley, lies from 10 to 50 feet[1] below the present surface and, at various points, 110, 140, 150 and 168 feet,[2] below the base of the ancient East Wall of the City. Moreover, the eastern bank or wall of the Wâdy was very much steeper than it is to-day. In some parts naturally precipitous or nearly so, in others it was scarped by the early

[1] From 3 to 15 metres.

[2] Or about 33·5, 42, 46 and 51 metres.

defenders of the City, so as to make the whole of it practically impregnable.

The W. er-Rabâbi, the western and southern trench of the City's site, begins like the W. Sitti Mariam very close to the watershed itself, but much further south, viz. about 660 yards west-north-west of the

The Wady er-Rabâbi.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ROCK AND SURFACE LEVELS ON THE SOUTH WEST HILL AND ON THE W. ER-RABABI.

	Rock Levels under Wall on South West Hill.	Rock Levels in the Bed of W. er-Rabâbi.	Levels of present Surface of W. er-Rabâbi.
1. At the Jaffa Gate, .	Feet, 2,528 Metres, 770·5	2,469 752·5	Above 2,470 753
2. S.-W. Angle of Citadel,	Feet, 2,479 Metres, 755·8	2,449 746·5	Above 2,450 747
3. S.-W. Angle of present City Wall, .	Feet, 2,499 Metres, 761·9	2,379 725	About 2,382 726
4. S.-W. Curve of S. W. Hill (north end of ancient scarp), . .	Feet, 2,480 Metres, 756	2,339 713	About 2,349 716
5. Fragment of ancient Wall, 200 yards S.-E. of Cœnaculum, .	Feet, 2,409 Metres, 734	2,199 670	2,202 671
6. Fragment of ancient Wall at east end of Jewish Cemetery, .	Feet, 2,279 Metres, 694·8	2,129 649	***
7. Gate at S.-E. angle of ancient Walls, . .	Feet, 2,080 Metres, 634	2,039 621·6	***

*** I have left the last two spaces in the third column vacant, because I have been unable to determine accurately the figures. But Dr. Bliss measured 55 feet of *débris* just south of the south-east angle of the ancient walls above the scarp and baths which he excavated.[1]

[1] *Excav. at Jerus.*, 1894-97, 225-230, with Plate xxi.: Section A.B. Kuemmel's figure of 7·6 metres for the *débris* 'at the end' of the W. er-Rabâbi (*Materialien zur Topogr. des Alt. Jerus.* 44) must refer to a little further west up the W. er-Rabâbi.

Jaffa Gate, under the name of the W. el-Mes (Nettle-tree) at a height of about 2520 feet (768 m). Curving south as it approaches this Gate, opposite which its bed is 2470 feet high, it runs between the watershed and the South-west Hill for almost half a mile (805 m.), sinking rapidly. Then sharply running east, it continues for another half mile between the South-west Hill and the Jebel Deir Abu Ṭôr to its junction with the Ḳidron Valley at about 2050 feet: a fall of 420 feet (128 m.) in the mile.

In one important respect this table shows a remarkable difference from the corresponding table on the Ḳidron Valley. While in the Ḳidron the differences between the present surface of the valley and its ancient bed below were as much as from 10 to 50 feet, the analogous differences in the W. er-Rabâbi amount for the most part to only 2 or 3 feet, at one part reach 10 feet, and we do not come to a great accumulation of *débris* till we are out of the W. er-Rabâbi into the Ḳidron Valley again, opposite the south-east angle of the walls, where we find 55 feet. Whether this last is due to gradual artificial causes or to an earthquake it is impossible to say; Dr. Bliss points out that the accumulation must be later than the Roman baths he found beneath it. But in the W. er-Rabâbi itself it is clear that far less *débris* has been shot than into the Ḳidron Valley. This goes to confirm what we shall find indicated by the history of the City, that the City on the East Hill and the walls there were older and more frequently overthrown than those on the South-west Hill. As to the difference in height between the bottom of this great western and southern trench of the City and the base of the walls on the South-west Hill immediately above it,

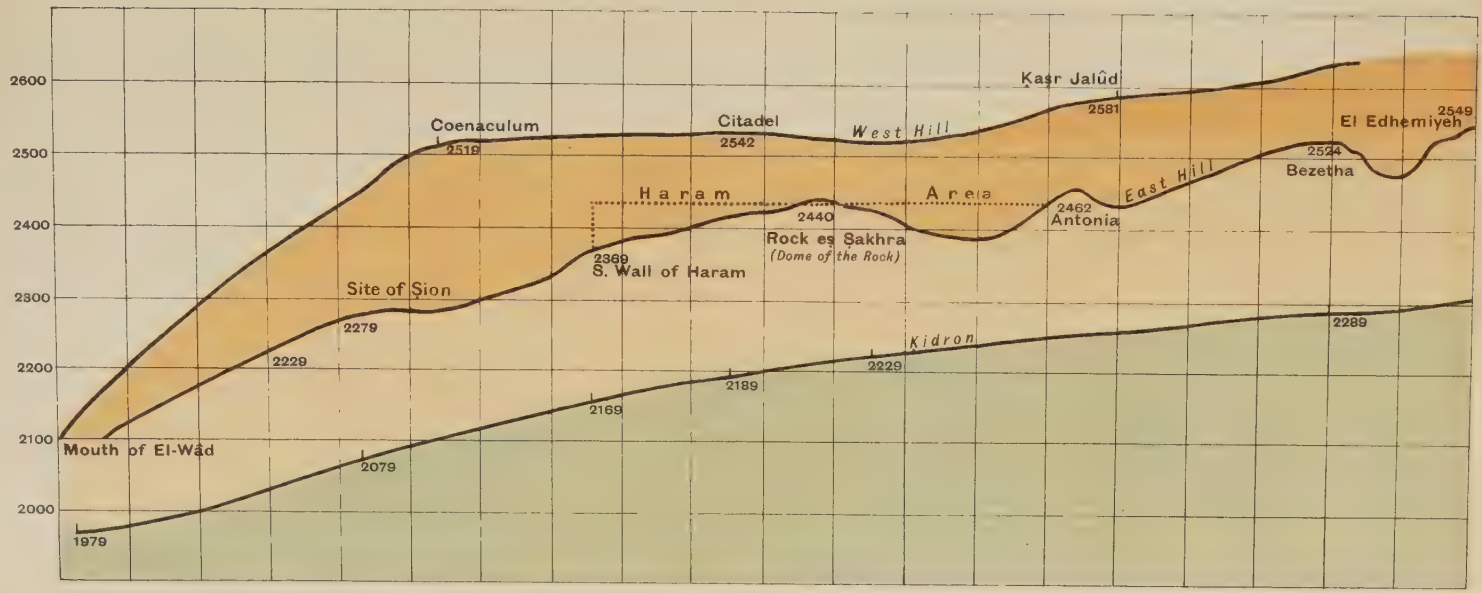
Different depths of *débris* in Ḳidron Valley and W. er-Rabâbi.

COMPARATIVE PROFILES OF THE EAST AND WEST HILLS

MAP 3

Mainly from the Rock Levels

WITH THE ROCK-BED OF THE ḲIDRON



Vertical Scale 100 feet to the Square

The Top Line is the West Hill
The Middle Line is the East Hill
The Lowest is the line of the Ḳidron

Horizontal Scale 100 yards to the Square

London: Hodder and Stoughton.

the table shows that at the three points selected on the western side it was respectively 59, 50 and 120 feet (about 18, 15·18 and 36·6 metres); and at the four points selected on the southern side, 210, 140, 150 and 41 feet (64, 42·7 and 12·5 metres). This last, the smallest of the differences, is at the south-east angle of the City walls, where the South-west Hill sinks to its lowest point.

These are all the most important features of the Site of the City. In the next chapter we shall see which among them can be certainly identified with the data of the ancient topography, and what are the questions that remain over for discussion.

CHAPTER II

FACTS AND QUESTIONS IN THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY

HAVING surveyed the natural features of the Site, it will be convenient for us at this stage to separate the certain from the uncertain elements in the ancient topography: to define what points in this are practically beyond doubt, and to make a preliminary statement of questions which still form the subject of controversy, and which we shall try to answer in the following chapters.

Certain and Uncertain points in the Topography.

There is no doubt that Jerusalem always occupied in whole or in part the Site whose natural features and limits we have been tracing: the so-called East and West Hills, separated by the valley el-Wâd, and bounded on the east, west, and south by the Wâdies Sitti Mariam and er-Rabâbi. There are other towns in Palestine which in the course of their history have wholly changed their sites. This Jerusalem never has done. No one now wants to discuss whether the City ever lay outside the two encircling Wâdies. These forbid, as we have seen, all expansion east, south or west. We have not to inquire, therefore, whether Jerusalem ever lay on any of the encircling hills, the main watershed, Jebel Abu Deir Ṭor or the Mount of Olives; though it will

1. General Permanence of the Site.

always be a question whether, at the foot of the latter, 'Ain Silwân and its ancient caves may not represent a settlement as primitive as any within the site of the City proper. On the north of the City the questions are more open. This is the only direction in which the expansion of the City is possible. Expansion is taking place there now; cisterns, alleged remains of walls, and the foundations of ancient churches have been found outside the present north wall in some quantity. It is, therefore, a question whether the suburb enclosed by Agrippa within the so-called Third Wall may have lain out there.[1]

Again, there is no doubt that the boundary valley on the East, the W. Sitti Mariam, is the Ḳidron Valley of the Old and New Testaments and of Josephus.[2] The caves at 'Ain Silwân on its East bank may (as said above) represent a primitive settlement; but from an early point in the history of the City the bed of the Ḳidron formed her eastern limit,[3] and down till the end there is no word of anything beyond it except a small village, and scattered houses and tombs. In the Ḳidron Valley lies the one certain spring of the district, the 'Ain Sitti Mariam, under the base of the East Hill of the City. We shall have to inquire to which of the wells named in the Old Testament it corresponds.[4] Its importance as a landmark of the Topography is second to almost none other.

2. Wâdy Sitti Mariam = Ḳidron Valley.

Nor is there any doubt that the East Hill was the Temple

[1] See further on this below, p. 48.

[2] Though some distinguish between the Valley of the Kidron, and 'the ravine of the Kidron,' *i.e.* Wilson's 'St. Anne's Ravine.' Sandie, *Horeb and Jerus.* ch. x. See Plate IV.

[3] See below, under David, Bk. iii.

[4] See below, on 'The Waters of Jerusalem,' Bk. i. ch. v.

Hill. It is agreed that the threshing floor of Araunah, on which Solomon built the Temple, and on which the Second Temple and Herod's rose, lay somewhere about the summit of the East Hill, the rock eṣ-Ṣakhra, and that the present Ḥaram esh-Sherîf represents more or less the successive Temple areas. The following points on the East Hill are also clear. The present barracks at the north-west angle of the Ḥaram are on the site of the castle Antonia, of Roman or Herodian times. The 'Ophel was part of the slope south of the Temple. And Siloaḥ or Siloam lay at its foot, at the issue of the tunnel which carries the waters of the 'Ain Sitti Mariam beneath Ophel to the mouth of el-Wâd. Moreover, the line of the ancient wall, which ran along the East Hill above the Ḳidron Valley as far as Siloam, has been for parts exactly and for parts approximately ascertained.

3. East Hill = Temple Hill and Ophel with Siloam at S. end.

The Middle Valley, el-Wâd, between the East and West Hills, is certainly the Tyropœon of the Roman or Herodian period. Whether it is mentioned in the Old Testament, and if so under what name or names, is a question we shall have to discuss.[1] As will be easily understood, a good deal of the topography of the ancient City turns upon it. Some hold that the lower part of it, at least, lay outside the Old Testament City, and that it was the Hollow of the Son of Hinnom, or, The Hollow, Hag-Gai. Others think that at the very earliest period it was outside the City, which was then confined to the East Hill, but that it was brought within the walls built by the early Kings of Judah, others that it was within walls even before David.

4. El-Wâd = the Tyropœon.

But this raises the whole of the questions regarding the

[1] Below, Bk. i. ch. vii. See Plate IV.

South-west Hill, among the most vexed in the topography of Jerusalem. It is agreed that this Hill was all enclosed within the City Walls in the Roman or Herodian period, and that the present citadel by the Jaffa Gate contains one of Herod's towers; that from this a wall upon the edge of the W. er-Rabâbi ran round the South-west Hill on the line ascertained by Mr. Maudslay and Dr. Bliss till it met the wall down the East Hill at the south-east angle, and enclosed the mouth of the Tyropœon; and that another wall bounded the South-west Hill along its northern edge above the ravine which sinks from the Jaffa Gate into the Tyropœon. This is the so-called First Wall. But when it was built, or rather, when the South-west Hill became an integral part of the City, is one of the serious questions in the topography of Jerusalem, subsidiary only to that which is one of the two most important, viz:—whether Ṣion, the Jebusite stronghold captured by David and called after him the 'City of David,' lay on the South-west Hill on the site of the present citadel, or must be placed on the East Hill and on the part called Ophel immediately above the Virgin's Spring. The former view is the traditional one, Christians having called the South-west Hill 'Mount Sion' since the fourth century, and Josephus having placed the 'City of David' on the site of the present citadel. The latter is the view of modern scholars arguing from the Biblical evidence. The question is so fundamental that we shall discuss it in a separate chapter.[1]

5. South West Hill, the 'Traditional Sion.'

As to the North-west Hill, there is also difference of opinion about its inclusion in the city. It is agreed that at some period subsequent to the erection of the First Wall on

[1] Below, Bk. i. ch. vi. See Plates III. and IV.

the north of the South-west Hill, and before our Lord's time, a Second Wall (as it is called) was run across the North-west Hill from near the Jaffa Gate to the castle at the north-west angle of the Ḥaram area. But both the date and the course of this Second Wall are questions under keen debate, and, since they partly involve the question of the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, of equal importance with the questions raised by the South-west Hill. Some authorities trace the Second Wall by ancient remains on a zig-zag line to the south and east of the Church of the Sepulchre. Others, also following ancient remains, trace it to the west and the north of the Church on a line from David's tower to the Ḳala'at Jâlûd (Goliath's Castle), thence on the line of the present north wall to near the Damascus Gate, and thence south-east to the corner of the Ḥaram area. Here again I only state the question: its discussion will come later.[1]

6. North-west Hill; the questions of its enclosure. The Second Wall.

The North, where the East and West Hills merge on the plateau, we have seen to be the only direction possible for the expansion of the City. The City is rapidly extending there now. Old cisterns, the foundations of churches, and the mosaic floors of sumptuous dwellings found in considerable quantity to the north of the present wall, prove that, at least in the Roman and Christian periods, Jerusalem spread over part of the northern plateau. Where then did the Third Wall run, built by Agrippa to protect a suburb beyond the Second? Some hold that it was nearly coincident with the present north wall, others that its course lay some 530 yards to the north, where a line of wall is said to have been found.

7. The Plateau to the N. The Third Wall.

[1] Below, Bk. i. ch. viii. pp. 247 ff.

This is a minor question in the topography of Jerusalem, though not without its bearings on the others; we shall reserve it to the Chapter on the Walls of the City.[1]

Finally, there is the western and southern boundary of the Site of the City: the W. er-Rabâbi. The common opinion is that this is Hag-Gaî, the Hollow, or Hollow of the Son of Hinnom, at least on its lowest and eastward stretch. But some, as we have seen, hold that Hag-Gaî was el-Wâd. This question, involved in that of the date of the inclusion of the South-west Hill in the City, will be treated partly under the latter, and partly in a separate chapter on the Hollow of the Son of Hinnom.[2]

8. W. er-Rabâbi and the Valley of Hinnom.

[1] Below, Bk. i. ch. viii. [2] Below, Bk. i. chs. vi. and vii. See Plate III.

CHAPTER III

THE GEOLOGY

Ἀνάγκη δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων τόπων ὑπομένειν τὸ περισκελὲς τῆς τοιαύτης γεωγραφίας.—Strabo XIV. i. 9.

TO understand the Geology of the site of Jerusalem, and of the basin in which it lies, is necessary to the student of her history for more than one important reason. The character and disposition of the strata determine the surface and subterranean directions of the water which has fallen on the basin, with the positions of pools, streams and springs, and on these in turn depend some of the cardinal questions of the topography. Again, the character of the water-supply, and the resources of clay, stone and metal, together with the nature of the soil, govern the economy and the industries of the City. And finally, the quality of the rock, besides influencing the architecture and ornament of the buildings, will determine, as every epigraphist who has worked in Palestine is aware, the number of surviving inscriptions, or account for their absence. In all departments of his work, therefore, the historian is dependent on the geologist.

Geology indispensable to the Historian.

Edward Robinson, who was a pioneer in this as in

everything else connected with the historical geography of Palestine, had at his disposal the scattered observations by himself and other travellers: Seetzen, Russegger, Anderson, von Schubert, and John Wilson. His description of the geology of the land, though characteristically faithful, is necessarily far from complete;[1] and he died before he was able to add, to his outlines of the general formations and his section on earthquakes, the remarks which he intended on caverns, minerals and soils. To Jerusalem he devotes only a few sentences. Karl Ritter had the same materials before him as Robinson; his arrangement and review[2] of them possesses the value which distinguishes all the work of this famous geographer. The outlines which these two writers traced by 1860 have since then been corrected and largely filled in by a number of expert geologists and engineers. Dr. Oscar Fraas[3] not only published geological descriptions of Egypt, Sinai and Syria, but gave details, with sections, of the strata about Jerusalem. M. Louis Lortet added an immense amount of valuable material to the general geology.[4] Sir Charles Wilson, who had an opportunity of examining the structure of the basin of Jerusalem with Dr. Fraas, and who was down every cistern in the Ḥaram, and many others inside and outside the City, including the Ḥammâm esh-Shefâ and the Bîr Eiyûb, has published summaries of the geology of Jerusalem,[5] and has kindly supplied me with

The Authorities.

[1] *Physical Geography*, 284-299.

[2] Eng. Transl.: *The Comparative Geogr. of Palestine*, iii. 12 f., 196, iv. 183.

[3] *Aus dem Orient*, Stuttgart, 1867: on Jerusalem, 50-59.

[4] *Essai sur la géologie de la Palestine*, Paris, 1869, 1873; *Exploration géologique de la Mer Morte, de la Palestine et de l'Iaumée*, Paris, 1877; and other works. Lortet's *Essay on the Formation of the Bed of the Dead Sea*, etc., is translated by Grove in vol. iii. of Ritter's *Comp. Geog. of Pal.*, 351 ff.

[5] Especially that in his article 'Jerusalem,' Smith's *D.B.* (2) i. 1588.

some valuable manuscript notes. Similarly Colonel Conder, whose examination of the site and environs has been no less thorough, has published several descriptions.[1] In 1888 the Palestine Exploration Fund issued their *Memoir on the Physical Geology and Geography of Arabia Petræa, Palestine, and Adjoining Districts*, by Professor Hull; and Sir J. William Dawson included in his *Modern Science and Bible Lands*[2] an appendix on the Geology of Palestine. In 1905, the German geologist, Dr. Max Blanckenhorn, published the most detailed and illustrated study of what immediately concerns us, 'The Geology of the Nearer Environs of Jerusalem.'[3] From all these and my own observations during five visits to Jerusalem, I have compiled the following description.[4] Dr. Blanckenhorn has not carried his detailed study into the region where, for our topographical purposes, it would be of most use to us —the effect of the character and disposition of the strata on the distribution of the water.

The Strata of Jerusalem exclusively limestone and chalk.

In Jerusalem and its surroundings the strata belong to well-defined limits of the geological scale. There are no rocks of primary or palæozoic age; no granite, porphyry, gneiss, nor schist; and no volcanic rocks, lava, nor the like. The 'Nubian' sandstone, on which the limestone ranges of

[1] *e.g. Enc. Bibl.* 'Jerus.' § 5; and article 'Jerus.' in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 584. [2] London, Hodder and Stoughton, 587 ff.

[3] *Z.D.P.V.*, 1905, 75-120, with a coloured geological map and four profiles of the strata, cf. R. Sachsse *Z.D.P.V.* 1897, 1 ff.

[4] For other studies and observations before 1883 see the summary in *P.E.F.Q.* for that year of Professor Huddleston's address to the Geologists' Association, vol. viii. No. 1, on 'The Geology of Palestine.' I have consulted also other geological notes in the *P.E.F.Q.* (especially 1887, p. 80, by Schick) and in the *Z.D.P.V.* I regret not to have seen any of the works of Paul Lortet, given on p. 587 of Röhricht's *Bibliotheca Geogr. Palæstinæ.*

GEOLOGICAL MAP OF JERUSALEM

after Dr Blanckenhorn

MAP 4

CENOMANIAN

Mizzeh Yehudi & Mizzeh Ahmar
Grey and reddish mottled or veined thick-bedded Limestone with Acanthoceras Newboldi

Meleki
Rosy white Hippurite (?) Limestone

TURONIAN

Mizzeh helu
'Nerinaean Marble'

SENONIAN

Haur or Chalkmarl
Ka'kûli or Chalk Limestone

QUATERNARY

Nâri ('*Firestone*')
Pink-white conglomeratic limestone
Alluvial surface deposit

Natural crag débris and valley formations

RECENT

Building débris and ash-heaps of Jerusalem

Syria rest, passes, it is calculated, from 1500 to 2000 feet below the City, not to appear till the further coast of the Dead Sea, where you can see it from Jerusalem refulgent in the evening sun. Everything above this in the Judæan range is limestone and chalk of the secondary and tertiary systems, with a crust from the post-tertiary or quaternary. Dr Blanckenhorn has defined six or seven different formations or stages ranging from the Cenomanian of Continental geologists, the Lower Chalk of the English,[1] up through the Turonian and Senonian (corresponding to the Middle and Upper White Chalks of Great Britain) to the crust of calcareous breccia, which is not found in position in Britain, but still covers the summits of southern lands untouched by glacial action. The stone-masons of Jerusalem have long distinguished these varieties of rock, with the marls, bituminous limestones, and harder constituents which are found among them, and have given them the following names: *Mizzeh Yehudi* and *Mizzeh 'Aḥmar*, *Meleki*, *Mizzeh Helu*, *Ka'kûli*, and *Nâri;* with *Haur* for the marls, *Nebi Mûsa* for the bituminous limestones, and *Mizzeh 'Akhdar* or *'Akhdar-'Aḥmar* for some marble-like varieties in the upper chalks. Employing these harmonious data of the scientific geologists and of the practical stone-workers, we may, most conveniently for our present purpose, arrange the series under four divisions and start from the highest downwards.

1. Upper Chalks—Nâri and Ka'kûli.

On the summits of Olivet and of the Hills of Offence and Evil Counsel there is a thin stratum of conglomeratic limestone of the post-tertiary period, pinkish-white in colour, soft and friable, but fireproof, known locally as *Nâri*, or 'Firestone.' 'All

[1] James Geikie, *Outlines of Geology*, 327.

others crack when heated or become lime; not so this one, so all fire-places are made with it when bricks cannot be had.'[1] As the stones from it are specially light, they are used for the inner arching of vaults. With the *Nâri* many take the *Ka'kâli*, as only an alternate name for it, but Schick distinguishes the two, and Blanckenhorn defines the latter as a separate Senonian stratum in two layers: an upper of soft cretaceous limestone with deposits of *Haur* or marl, which is used in mortar, and a lower more tenacious but still soft stone, used for Jewish and Mohammedan gravestones, and also in the building of houses. It is in a number of layers of these upper chalks that are found the deposits of bituminous limestone, the beautiful marble-like stone known as green or blue-green Mizzeh, as well as the numerous flints which were used by the primitive inhabitants of Jerusalem as weapons.[2] None of these various strata are found within the City.

2. Turonian, Hippurite Limestone—Mizzi helu.

Below these there is a Hippurite limestone, nongranulous, with bands of flint, hard, reddish-grey, and capable of a good polish, a 'Nerinæan marble' known locally as *Mizzi*[3] (or *Mizzeh*) *helu*, 'the sweet Mizzeh.' This is found within the City on the rock eṣ-Ṣakhrah, and under other parts of the Ḥaram, under the barracks, in Bezetha, in the knoll el Edhemîyeh (known as 'Jeremiah's Grotto'), and according to Conder in the 'cliff of the traditional Calvary.'[4] Outside the City it may be seen at the railway station, in the W. er-Rabâbi, and in the lower strata of Olivet along the

[1] Schick, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, 50; cf. Fraas, 57.

[2] Germer-Durand, *L'Age de Pierre en Palestine.—Rev. Bib.* 1897, 439.

[3] I cannot get the meaning of this term: Can it be from mazz, to suck, with the signification porous? Fraas, 53, takes it from mazz, to excel.

[4] Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 584.

Ḳidron. It has been measured in depths from 72 to 82 feet (22 to 25 m.). The colossal stones of the Ḥaram wall, and the stones of some of the churches, are of this rock. It is quarried at the present day from the Frank Mountain, principally for the larger stones round the windows and doors of houses.

Below this Upper Mizzeh lies a stratum of granulous limestone or 'marble,' also called Hippurite[1] by some: a white chalk with a rosy complexion, so soft underground that it can be cut with a knife, but hardening upon exposure and therefore valuable for building; locally known as *Meleki*, 'Royal.' Its breadth averages 328 yards (300 m.), its depth about 35 feet, and it forms the basis of the whole City. The great quarries under Bezetha ('The Cotton-Grotto'), the deeper cisterns beneath the Temple area, and other cisterns of the City have been excavated within it, being reached from the surface by narrower shafts through the harder Upper Mizzeh.[2] According to Blanckenhorn it forms the rock under the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Some of the scarps under the Wall above the W. er-Rabâbi, the Pool of Siloam, the caves under the village of Silwân, the base of the so-called Tomb of Absalom, the pyramid of Zechariah, and other monuments in the Ḳidron valley, are of this rock. It is also found on the surface of the Buḳei'a and on the Bethlehem road by the English eye-hospital, from which it extends into the W. er-Rabâbi.

3. Cenomanian, granulous Limestone—Meleki.

Below the Meleki lies a harder Cenomanian limestone, partly dolomitic, known like the rock above the Meleki by

[1] 'Genuine Hippurites,' says Blanckenhorn, 'I have not recognised in Meleki.' He calls it a 'Rudistenmarmor.' On the contrary Fraas, 52.

[2] Schick, *Z.D.P.V.* i. 140.

the name of *Mizzi* or *Mizzeh*, but distinguished locally as *Mizzeh Yehudi* or 'Jewish Mizzeh'; *Mizzeh 'Aḥmar* or 'red Mizzeh,' and *Dēr Yâsîni*, from a village where there are quarries of it. These names represent three distinct divisions of it. *Mizzeh Yehudi* is dark grey, sometimes of a yellowish, sometimes of a reddish complexion, with veins of calcareous spar and occasionally 'instead of pure limestone, dolomitic limestone, and genuine finely crystallised dolomite.' At the present day it is the 'stone most used for building,'[1] yet 'the hardest stone in Palestine, a cold compact limestone, most difficult to work, chisels of finest tempered steel breaking on it like glass.'[2] It lies directly under the Meleki. Of the *Mizzeh 'Aḥmar* there are two varieties, a limestone irregularly red, found on the watershed, where it may be traced in the graves of the Nikophorieh, in Hinnom and the Birket es Sulṭan and elsewhere, much used in building and to be seen in the columns of the Bethlehem Basilica; and 'a crystalline limestone or real marble with glistening grains of a quite regular red,'[3] not found in Jerusalem. The *Dēr Yâsîni* is a laminated limestone (Plattenkalk), grey or reddish, used for lintels and the outer stones of arches. All these divisions of the Lower Mizzeh, when they appear on the surface, resist atmospheric influences and are hardy rocks; they form the foundation of many of the cultivated terraces. The inference is that underground they (or some of them) resist or divert the waters which penetrate to them through the Meleki. Yet they are divided and streaked with layers of soft limestone marls, useful, when they break to the surface, in forming soil, and below

4. Cenomanian Limestone—Lower Mizzeh.

[1] Blanckenhorn.

[2] Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæol. Researches*, ii. 225 f. Schick, *loc. cit.*, also calls it 'the hardest.'

[3] Blanckenhorn.

easily permeable by water. As the strata appear (on Dr Blanckenhorn's coloured map) in the Ḳidron Valley a little to the north of the Virgin's Spring, they probably extend thither from the Hinnom valley right under the City. But how much of the marl they contain, or whether they are at all fissured and broken, as they are sometimes in their outcrops, we do not know. We shall have to take this into consideration when we inquire into the character of that fountain and the reason of its position.

All these strata are disposed with tolerable regularity. Dr. Blanckenhorn says: 'The disposition of all the strata which here make their appearance remains on the S. of Jerusalem, within the town itself, and on the N. in general the same.' But while (as we have seen) the watershed in passing the basin of Jerusalem forms a curve or bow with its opening eastward, the groups of strata which compose the ground of the basin are so extended as to form a curve in the opposite direction, with its opening westward (as Dr. Blanckenhorn's coloured map clearly shows). There are no noteworthy distortions, nor any 'faults,' and no intrusive dykes. It is worth noticing, again, with regard to the bearing of the geology on the water-distribution, that according to Dr. Blanckenhorn's observations, the soft Meleki limestone appears to reach its lower limit exactly at the Bîr Eiyûb in the Ḳidron Valley. Finally, with a few minor interruptions, the strata all dip regularly eastward or south-eastward, at a general angle of 10°, thus forming what we have seen to be the eastward decline and exposure of the city's site, as well as giving both the surface and underground waters of the basin their main bent in that direction.

Regular Disposition of these Strata.

Their Dip, E.S.E.

Before we get entangled among the topographical questions which are connected with the waters, it will be well to discuss these in their purely geological relations, particularly with regard to the possibility of natural springs or fountains.

Opportunity for lakes or streams.

Very little of the water which falls on the earth's surface finds its way immediately to surface beds of rock or clay impervious enough to hold it up in the form of lakes or streams; the most is absorbed in the first instance in the ground. Where the upper strata, as in the basin of Jerusalem, are all of porous chalk, capable of retaining water to a third of their own bulk and passing the remainder downwards, there is no opportunity for the formation of tarns or rivulets except for a short period after a heavy downpour. As we shall see, the historical evidence reveals no lake or stream at Jerusalem, with the exception of the *naḥal*, or *fiumara*, or winter-brook of the Ḳidron, the lowest or most easterly of the valleys of the basin, where (as we have seen) the lower, impervious limestone appears in the bed of the wâdy.

Surface Percolation.

Sometimes the porous rocks, such as those of which at least the upper strata of our basin are composed, when they have absorbed water beyond their power to retain it, will 'weep' or 'sweat' it forth again above the surface where they crop out from this, or where the hollowing of a valley lays them bare, or underground where a natural fissure or artificial receptacle has been formed. There are many instances of this percolation upon, under, and around the site of Jerusalem. Some at least of the water which gathers in the bed of el-Wâd, in the Ḥammam esh-Shefâ and in the Bîr Eiyûb, are demonstrably due to this surface percolation. But we

may easily mistake its effects in a gathering of water for those of a real spring or fountain, particularly if it takes place, as now in el-Wâd, beneath a mass of rubbish.

Springs or fountains proper, which originally are due, of course, to the percolation of water through porous strata, happen only when the watery content of these is refused further passage underground by impermeable underlying rocks and somehow or other is forced up to the surface. But springs may vary from something very little different from percolation to forms quite distinct and separate. For instance, water absorbed by one of the softer superficial strata, and finding no passage downward because the underlying stratum is impermeable, may with the softer stratum itself, and without ever having left it, emerge on the side of a valley, where the softer stratum is exposed and truncated. Except by their waters being concentrated in a single outlet, such openings do not differ from the percolation sketched above. Others spring from greater depths, where a water-laden stratum has encountered an uprise of impervious rock, along whose ascent its contents make way by their own pressure to the surface. Others, found mainly in regions of massive rocks like granite, are formed of water which has found its way downward by long cracks and fissures, often to great depths ; whence, encountering other fissures of easier gradient or lower issue than those by which it has descended, it also reaches the surface by its own pressure.

Springs or Fountains proper.

Now in and around Jerusalem, with its exclusively limestone geology, there is no possibility of this last, and generally deepest, kind of spring. Our consideration is limited to the other two. And the sole question which arises geologically, is

Are there any in Jerusalem?

whether either of these forms of spring proper is present, or whether any underground gathering of water or its issue to the surface may more scientifically be described as due to percolation only. It is on the latter ground that some authorities on the topography have doubted the existence in or about Jerusalem of any spring properly so-called,[1] and that others refuse the name to the Virgin's Fountain.[2] The question is one of difficulty, both because of the nearness of all the possible springs to the surface of the strata from which they spring, and because (as I have shown) the shallowest form of spring proper is not easily distinguishable from the results of mere percolation. But it will turn upon the question of the presence among the limestone strata of one more or less impermeable by water, below the porous others. Now the lowest of the strata, the Cenomanian, *Mizzeh Yehudi* and *'Aḥmar*, is (as we have seen) at least in part a hard stone, insensible to rain or other atmospheric influences when lying on the surface, and therefore presumably able underground to withstand and divert the passage of water from the softer strata above it. But this harder limestone underlies the City, and forms in part at least the bed of the Ḳidron valley, in which precisely the disputable springs of Jerusalem are found.

Earthquakes.

We have up to this been considering the constant factors in the geology of Jerusalem, but before we can complete our subject we must discuss a possible factor of disturbance introduced among them by Earthquakes. This leads to so many questions both of topography and mythology, that we devote to it a separate chapter.

[1] Sir Charles Wilson in an MS. communication to the author.

[2] See below, p. 87 ff.

CHAPTER IV

EARTHQUAKES, SPRINGS AND DRAGONS

Καὶ ἰδοὺ φωναὶ καὶ θόρυβος, βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμός, τάραχος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο δράκοντες μέγαλοι ἕτοιμοι προῆλθον ἀμφότεροι παλαίειν. [Apocryphal] Esther xi. 4 f.

And, behold, noises and tumult, thunderings and earthquake, uproar upon the earth; and, behold, two great dragons came forth, both of them ready to fight.

IT is necessary to explore, so far as materials exist for the purpose, the subject of earthquakes in Jerusalem, not only because of the certain influence of these upon the fortunes of the City and her buildings, but because of their possible effects upon the geology we have been studying, and especially upon the water-springs, on the positions of which so much of the topography turns. And as in the name of one of the springs there is a remnant of the ancient mythology about earthquakes, we must learn what we can of this latter subject. Extent of the Subject.

Here again Edward Robinson led the way in an instructive section on earthquakes in his *Physical Geography*. Admiral Smyth, in his valuable memoir *The Mediterranean*,[1] has a number of observations on earthquakes experienced by himself and others within the great basin of which Syria is the eastern The Materials and Authorities.

[1] London, 1854.

slope. In Diener's monograph on the physical geography of Central Syria, entitled *Libanon*, there is a list of earthquakes in that region.[1] But with the view of checking and increasing their data, I have looked through, besides the Bible and Apocryphal and Apocalyptic works, — the latter of which are especially instructive on the mythology of earthquakes, a subject practically untouched by modern scholars—Pliny and Strabo, Appian, Polybius and Dion Cassius, Jerome's works, the early histories of the Church, the French collection of Historians of the Crusades, Röhricht's *History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, a number of recent Travels through Syria, and Dr Chaplin's meteorological records ; besides Von Hoff's *Chronik der Erdbeben* and Perrey's Memoir.[2] On the general subject of earthquakes, I have consulted Prof. James Geikie's *Outlines of Geology*, and I have communications from Sir Archibald Geikie and Sir Charles Wilson as to the effects on water supplies. Beyond some hints in that extremely useful work by Stark on Gaza and the Philistine Coast,[3] I found nothing in modern writers on the religion and mythology of the Semites as to the influence of earthquakes, although these have been so frequent in the natural history of Syria, and so impressive upon the religious feelings of her inhabitants.

Lines of earthquake, Syria.

Through those periods of the history of Syria of which we have records, we find earthquakes frequent and destructive. Northern Syria and its cities, especially Urfa (Edessa), Aleppo, Antioch and Hamath, the skirts of the Lebanons and

[1] *Libanon, Grundlinien der phys. Geogr. u. Geol. von Mittelsyrien.* Wien, 1886 ; 258 ff. [2] *Mémoires, publ. par l'Académ. de Belg.* xxii.
[3] *Gaza u. die philistäische Küste*, Jena, 1852.

the Jordan valley, the coast of Palestine and its cities from Beirût to Ascalon and Gaza, have been especially scourged by them.[1] But just as, in South America, the Chilian coast of the Pacific is devastated by earthquakes, while the Andes to the east altogether escape or are little shocked, so while the maritime plain of Palestine and the volcanic districts in the Jordan valley have suffered ruinously from the disturbances, the Judæan range between them has been far less visited.[2] 'It is singular,' says Robinson, 'how amid all the terrific earthquakes with which Syria has been afflicted for so many centuries, the City of Jerusalem has been comparatively spared, in consequence perhaps of its position and distance from the volcanic regions.' That the Greek and Latin historians do not include Jerusalem among the many Asiatic cities which they record as ruined by earthquakes in the centuries immediately before or after the birth of Christ, may be due to the fact that they were comparatively so ignorant of her affairs. But when we take the period of the Crusades, to the historians of which Jerusalem was the central point of interest, we find that of all the convulsions recorded on the coast or in North Syria, only two are definitely said to have affected Jerusalem.[3]

Still the immunity of Jerusalem was only comparative. Besides being visited at irregular intervals by fits and starts of earthquake, the City has suffered several convulsions of disastrous magnitude. Of one of these which happened in Uzziah's reign, the tremors and the ruins it left are visible through the

Earthquakes in Judæa.

[1] Diener, *op. cit.* 260.

[2] Unfortunately for our present quest Diener's statistics are confined to Middle and North Syria, and do not extend to Judæa.

[3] Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, 59, 100, 114, 118, 218, 290, 348, 681, 695, 993.

prophetic writings of the eighth century,[1] while the memory of it lasted into the Christian era. The description by Josephus, whether really of this earthquake or not, is at least evidence of the havoc which some shaking of the earth had caused before his day to the site of Jerusalem.[2] 'Before,' that is, on the east of, 'the City, at what is called Eroge,'[3] that is Enrogel, 'half of the mountain broke off from the remainder on the west, and rolling four furlongs came to a stand at the eastern mountain, till the roads as well as the King's Gardens were blocked.' This means at least that at some time before the other great earthquake, of which Josephus knew, the East Hill and the Ḳidron valley had suffered from geological disturbances of considerable severity. The other earthquake he describes, took place in Judæa, 'in the seventh year of the reign of Herod,' 31 B.C., and brought a great destruction on the cattle in that country: about ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses.[4] The account in Matthew's Gospel of what happened at the Crucifixion at least implies the liability of Jerusalem to severe shocks during the first century of our era.[5] We know nothing of the effect on Judæa of the great earthquakes which devastated Asiatic cities in B.C. 62, A.D. 17, 115[6] (which destroyed Antioch), 320, 419.[7] But Socrates and Sozomen describe an earthquake in 362 A.D., which 'tore up the stones of the old foundations of the Temple' of Jerusalem, and 'threw

[1] Amos iv. 11, viii. 8; Isaiah ix. 9, xxix. 6. Cf. Zech. xiv. 4 f.

[2] ix. *Ant.* x. 4. [3] Πρὸς τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἐρωγῇ (Ἐῤῥωγῇ). [4] xv. *Ant.* v. 2.

[5] Matt. xxvii. 51, 52. Cf. Jerome epist. 150 *ad Hedibiam* and the story of the fissure created in Calvary by the earthquake, with all that was afterwards told of this, in Quaresmius, *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, lib. v. cap. xli.

[6] Strabo, xii. 8, 18; Pliny. *Hist. Nat.* ii. 86 (84); Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 47; Dion Cassius, lvii. 17; lxviii. 24.

[7] Marcellinus, *Chron.* p. 38, quoted by Von Hoff.

down the houses and public porticos' near its site.[1] The Christians interpreted this by the anger of God at the Emperor Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple. In the infancy of Jerome, there were heavy shocks in Moab, destroying the walls of Areopolis,[2] but neither of them, nor of the great earthquakes in Justinian's time, 526 and 551 A.D.,[3] the first of which destroyed Antioch, the second Beirût and other Syrian towns, do we hear that they affected Jerusalem. In the early Moslem centuries there were at least eight great earthquakes in Syria, 631, 658, 713, 718, 746,[4] 856, 1016, and 1034.[5] The two last must have worked great havoc in Jerusalem; for the colonnade of Ibn Tahîr, described by Muḳaddasi in 985, on the north of the 'Aḳṣa mosque, is not mentioned by Nasir-i-Khusrau in 1047, and while the former counts 15 gates along the north side, and 11 on the east, the latter gives only 7 and 10 respectively.[6] By earthquakes in 1105 and 1113,[7] but apparently not by those of 1115, 1138, 1157, 1170, 1182, Jerusalem was damaged. I find no mention of damage by earthquakes of the sixteenth and two following centuries.[8] In 1834 a spasm 'shook Jerusalem, and injured the Chapel of the Nativity at Bethlehem'; while the great earthquake of 1837, which overthrew Safed, and shattered the walls of Tiberias, 'was felt as far as Bethlehem and Hebron.'[9] Between 1860 and 1882 Dr. Chaplin observed in the City twelve shocks, apparently not serious.

[1] Soc. iii. 20; Soz. v. 22; cf. Gibbon, ch. xxiii.
[2] Jerome on Is. xv.; cf. Perrey, p. 5.
[3] Theophanes, p. 192; Cedrenus, p. 376, quoted by Von Hoff.
[4] Theophanes, 258, 320, 331, 354, quoted by Von Hoff.
[5] Cedrenus, 737 (Jer. shaken 40 days; many churches fell).
[6] Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 102 f.
[7] Perrey, p. 16.
[8] Jer. escaped the shocks of 1759, Perrey, 30, 70.
[9] Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* 298; Ritter, *Comp. Geog.* ii. 248.

The influence of earthquakes upon the history of springs is natural, and has been well attested. The difficulty begins where, as in the case of the Jerusalem springs, the records are defective. There is no doubt that by causing landslips, or creating fissures in the ground, earthquakes have the power to 'interrupt or revolutionise the drainage system of a country.'[1]

Effects of Earthquakes on Springs.

We have innumerable observations of their interference with warm springs in volcanic regions. Demetrius of Callatis reports that the hot springs of Ædepsus in Eubœa, and of Thermopylæ, were suppressed for three days, and when they began to run again those of Ædepsus gushed from new fountains.[2] Many other instances from the ancient geographers might be given. Two modern ones may be cited. About 1710 the hot springs by Tiberias are said to have remained dry, in consequence of an earthquake, for nearly three years;[3] and the converse result happened after the convulsions of 1837, for the volume of water was temporarily increased.[4]

On Hot Springs.

But the effect of earthquakes on the much shallower cold springs is less frequent and more uncertain. The Semites, who (as we shall see presently) identified the untameable power of the sea with that which periodically shook their lands, and who, unlike the Greeks, imagined the sea as flowing beneath the whole foundations of the earth, and feeding the fountains of the latter, could not have failed, therefore, to think of a connection between earthquakes and springs. They do not, however, always notice it. Some passages of the Old and

And on Cold Springs.

[1] J. Geikie, *Outlines of Geol.*, 167, R. Mallet, Herschel's *Manual of Scient. Enquiry*, 354, Perrey, 59.

[2] Quoted by Strabo, I. iii. 20; cf. *Frag. Histor. Græc.*, Müller, iii. 380.

[3] Ritter (quoting Reland), *Comp. Geog.* ii. 249. [4] *Ibid.*; Perrey, 47, 57.

New Testament, which detail the ruin wrought by earthquakes, do not speak of the wells as affected.[1] It is uncertain whether this is intended in such sentences as: *Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord, which turneth the rock into a pool of water, the flint into a fountain. We fear not though the earth bubble and mountains shake in the heart of the sea.*[2] But in other passages the Divine power in shaking the earth is associated with the appearance of springs where before there were none.[3] The Book of Enoch, too, appears to connect *a great convulsion*, not only with a *swelling of the waters*, which in this case are sulphurous springs, but with *a change of temperature in the water springs*;[4] and the author of II. Esdras says, *earthquakes make the deeps to tremble*—the deeps which, according to the cosmogony described above, are the reservoirs of the fountains.[5] In most of the accounts of earthquakes by Greek and Latin geographers or historians, with which I am acquainted, no mention is made of the ordinary fountains of cities as affected,[6] even where the statement of eyewitnesses is given; but both Strabo and Pliny assert the general effect of earthquakes in disturbing underground water-passages and changing the course of rivers,[7] and they cite some instances in which these particulars have happened.[8] Athenæus quotes from the *Histories* of Nicolas

[1] Ezek. xxxviii. 19 ff.; Rev. vi. 12, viii. 5, xi. 13, 19, xvi. 18.

[2] Ps. cxiv. 8, xlvi. 2 [Eng.], the latter after Wellhausen's and Furness' translation, Polychrome Bible.

[3] Is. xli. 18; Ps. cvii. 33 ff., lxxiv. 15.

[4] Bk. of Enoch, lxvii. 5-11.

[5] II. Esdr. iii. 19.

[6] In none of the following by Strabo, V. iv. 9; VI. i. 6; VIII. vii. 2; XII. viii. 16-19; XIII. iv. 8; XVI. ii. 26, etc.

[7] Strabo, IX. ii. 16, XV. i. 19; Pliny, II. 82 (80).

[8] Strabo, I. iii. 16, Arethusa by Chalcis in Eubœa, obstructed and reopened through other vents; XVI. ii. 7, a new spring for the Orontes.

of Damascus, that: 'About Apameia in Phrygia, at the time of the Mithridatic wars, earthquakes having happened, lakes appeared where none were formerly, and rivers and other fountains were opened by the motion, but many also vanished.'[1] Dion Cassius, describing the great earthquake at Antioch in 115, when Trajan was present,[2] says: 'Other mountains collapsed, and much water, not there before, burst up, and much that had been flowing ceased.' In the accounts of earthquakes which I have read in the early church histories, some of whose writers—like Evagrius on his marriage day at Antioch[3]—were eye-witnesses of the convulsions produced, I have not noticed any mention of the disappearance of old springs or the emergence of new ones. Yet, although these writers are often more concerned with the effect of the earthquakes in postponing Church Councils, or with their religious significance, they communicate besides a considerable amount of physical detail. There are instances, too, of the agelong persistence of fountains in spite of frequent earthquakes. One of these Sir Archibald Geikie has quoted to me, with some observations on the general question:—'The question you ask me is one to which no confident reply either way can be given. On the one hand it is well known that springs are sometimes seriously affected by earthquakes, being closed up or opening out from new vents in the rocks underneath. On the other hand it is equally certain that even after violent earthquakes old

[1] Athenæus, viii.; see *Fragmenta Histor. Græc.*, Müller, iii. 416.

[2] Dion Cassius, lxviii. 24, 25, the quotation is at the end of the latter section: *ὄρη τε ἄλλα ὑφίζησε καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ οὐκ ὂν μὲν πρότερον ἀνεφάνη, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ῥέον ἐξέλιπε.*

[3] *Eccl. Hist.*, vi. 8. The earthquake was that of 389 A.D., and Evagrius describes its effects very fully. It is not mentioned in Perrey.

springs may continue to maintain their old exits. Of this persistence we have a good example in the Roman Forum. The Fons Juturnæ, at which Castor and Pollux watered their horses when they came to announce the victory of Lake Regillus, is still flowing, and has recently been laid open once more to light by the removal of the church, etc., built over it. Yet during the last 2000 years Rome has been visited by many earthquakes, some of them severe enough to shake down buildings and do much damage.' One other bit of evidence may be added. At Gezer Mr. Macalister reports the disappearance of one well and the comparatively late appearance of another, and suggests that this was due to the disturbance of the strata by an earthquake.[1]

Possibility of conclusion from these data as to Jerusalem.

The bearing of these data on the question of the springs, real or reputed, at Jerusalem is somewhat delicate and difficult to compute with certainty. On the one hand, Jerusalem does not lie in a volcanic district, such as those in which many of the above instances of the change of fountains occurred; on the other hand, the effects of at least several earthquakes in Jerusalem were otherwise the same as I have quoted. Sir Archibald Geikie continues (it is in answer to a question I had addressed to him, more particularly with regard to the Virgin's Fountain): 'I do not think much stress can be laid on the position of the Jerusalem spring. It *may* have maintained its position in spite of all the earthquakes, but on the other hand it *may* have had its passage opened for it within historic time, and other springs may have existed which have had their passages closed up. Of course a close study of the ground might

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, 216 ff.

enable a geological expert to express an opinion a little more definitely in one direction or the other, but I hardly think he would feel himself justified in expressing any confidence either way.' After reading a paper I published upon 'The Waters of Jerusalem,'[1] Sir Charles Wilson sent me the following criticism :—'I think you have given too much weight to the effect of earthquakes on the springs. There is no trace of any important geological disturbance visible, and though a violent earthquake might have a slight temporary effect on the flow of the Siloam Spring, it could not from the conditions under which the spring is supplied have a permanent one. In the case of deep-seated hot springs such as are found in and near the Ghôr, the case is different.' I confess that after this double witness to the impossibility of any certain conclusion, I would have abandoned my attempt to reach one, but for an additional piece of historical evidence, the value of which I have appreciated only since the paper alluded to was published. The possibility of a disturbance by earthquakes of the natural water-supply of Jerusalem is not, and cannot be denied; on the other hand, it is clear that such a disturbance would reasonably explain some of the existing uncertainty as to the positions and characters of the historical springs or wells. But so much being granted, I think we can now argue in addition, from the name of one of these springs or wells, that one such disturbance did take place in the early history of the City. To explain this name, and the evidence I find in it, it is necessary to consider the effect of earthquakes on ancient mythology.

So frequent and serious a phenomenon in Syria must have left its stamp on the popular religion. The mono-

[1] *Expositor*, March 1903.

theism of the prophets and psalmists includes the earthquake among the signs of the Almighty's power and the instruments of His wrath upon the wicked children of men; it is even possible that this violence was the origin of the divine name El Shaddai.[1] In any case the God worshipped by Israel holds in His hand the power that quakes the earth, and the prophetic scenes of the Divine judgment shake with its tremors and convulsions. It would be singular if the popular religions of Syria, clinging closer to the earth, and even more in awe of the violences of Nature, had not also found a place for the earthquake in their mythologies, and after their manner assigned it to some special being or beings. For proofs of this we need not go beyond the Old Testament, and the later works of Judaism; though they have been somewhat overlooked. In the materials for their imagery which prophets or psalmists have not refused to draw from the folk-lore of their times, there figures frequently a Dragon—*Tannin*, as he is called in Hebrew. He is properly a sea-monster, born of the element which seemed to the Semites to perpetuate the turbulence and arrogance of primeval chaos. He personifies the sea: *Art thou*

Earthquakes and mythology.

The Dragon.

[1] Robertson Smith, *O. T. in the Jewish Church* (1st ed. 424), after pointing out how the vocalisation of the name may be due to a later mistaken etymology of it, suggests that it is an intensive form from שִׁרָה to *pour out*, and in that case the derivation assumed in Is. xiii. 6, Jer. i. 15, from שׁד would be wrong. But the many passages in the O. T. (outside P., in which the name stands for the name by which God revealed Himself to the Patriarchs before His new name to Moses, Ex. vi. 3, and passages in which it is used conventionally as by Job's friends or in mere parallel to *God*) in which the name is used along with the divine affliction, or violent possession, of a man (Num. xxiv. 4, 16, Ruth i. 20, 21, Ps. lxviii. 15, Ez. i. 24, x. 5; cf. Gen. xlix. 25, where it is associated with the *blessings of the deep*), support the derivation from שׁד, and this word, meaning violence that leads to *havoc* and *ruin*, is often used in connection with earthquakes or in the imagery derived from them.

not it that . . . pierced the Dragon, that dried up the sea? Am I the sea or the Dragon, that thou settest a watch over me?[1] And the name in the plural is given to the great sea-monsters, whales and sharks.[2] But we must keep in mind that the sea was supposed by the Semites to roll under the whole earth, and wash with ceaseless tides the roots of the mountains. We must remember that to the Greeks Poseidon was not only god of the sea, but the great earth-shaker as well, and worshipped as such in cities far inland;[3] and that the mythical sea-serpent Typhon 'filled the earth *as well as* the sea with evils,'[4] 'deeply furrowed the earth, and formed the bed of the Orontes,' and as he 'lay beneath the island of Prochyta and turned himself, caused flames and water to rush forth, and sometimes even small islands to rise.'[5] And we must understand that all this attribution to the same being of the powers of the sea-storm or the earthquake is due to the frequent experience of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin, where in the great convulsions sea and earth rise together, and enormous 'tidal waves' accompany the earthquakes.[6] After this, we shall not be surprised to find in the Old Testament, too, that the Dragon is also the earth-shaker. *He swallows*

[1] Isa. li. 9; Job vii. 12. The definite article after the poetic fashion is omitted in the original.

[2] Gen. i. 21, and perhaps elsewhere.

[3] As Strabo points out in the case of the earthquake-riddled Apameia in Phrygia (XII. viii. 18.): whence no doubt Poseidonius of Apameia got his name, the geographer upon whom Strabo draws so much, and who, conformably to his name, was of all Greek philosophers the one that, next to Aristotle, contributed most to the subject of earthquakes. See Tozer, *Hist. of Ancient Geogr.*, 199. [4] Plutarch, *De Is.* 27, quoted by Stark, *Gaza*, 276.

[5] Strabo, XVI. ii. 7. (cf. Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*, 161, in which however nothing is said of earthquakes), V. iv. 9.

[6] Strabo, I. iii. 17. f.; V. iv. 9.; VIII. vii. 2.; XVI. xi. 26, etc. Pliny II. 82 (80)—88 (86); II. Esdras xvi. 12; Smyth, *The Mediterranean*, 107, 108, 179, 498.

and casts out,[1] he is introduced among or near other symptoms of earthquake:[2] and Psalm cxlviii. calls out definitely: *Praise the Lord from the earth* (not the sea), *ye Dragons and ye Deeps.* This association is even plainer in the Apocryphal writings: *Thou didst shake the earth and madest the Deeps to tremble.*[3] *Behold noises and tumult, thunderings and earthquake, uproar upon the earth; and behold two great Dragons came forth, both of them ready to fight, and their cry was great.*[4]

Moreover it was to these Dragons, as the authors of earthquake, that both Semitic and Greek folklore attributed the appearance of springs and rivers. Dragons and Springs. Psalm cxlviii. implies this when it links the Dragons and Deeps, for it was from the *Deep that coucheth beneath*[5] that the fountains of the land were fed.[6] The Apocryphal Book of Esther associates dragons and springs in the use it makes of both in its imagery.[7] We have seen that the springs and bed of the Orontes, the Nahr el-'Aṣi or 'River of the Rebel,' were supposed to be the work of a Dragon, and to Typhon the Greek myths attribute the issue of many springs.[8] Other springs in Syria are called by the name of Serpent,[9] and a Moslem legend has it that the rebel angels Hārūt and Mārūt are entombed under a well at Babylon.[10] It is strange that

[1] Jer. li. 34. Here the myth has passed into political history, and the Dragon is Nebuchadrezzar.

[2] Ezek. xxxii.; Isai. xxvii. 1.

[3] II. Esdr. iii. 18.

[4] (Apocryphal) Esther xi. 5 f.

[5] Deut. xxxiii. 13.

[6] Amos vii. 4.

[7] (Apocr.) Esther x. 6; cf. xi. 5 f. with 10.

[8] Strabo and Pliny in the passages cited above on Typhon.

[9] *e.g.*, near Ruâd; Maundrell's *Journey*, 1697, under March 7.

[10] Cited by Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*, 161, from Cazwīnī, i. 197. Compare the curious Moslem story of the origin of the flood at Gezer: Cl.-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* ii. 237 ff.; R. A. S. Macalister, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, 217 f.

these instances—and they could be multiplied—along with the prevalence of earthquakes in Syria, should not have suggested to modern writers on Semitic mythology this fruitful side of the subject of springs and religion.[1]

The Dragon-Spring at Jerusalem.

But now we come to the point of our argument. In Jerusalem also there was, in Nehemiah's day, a Dragon's Fountain, somewhere (as we shall see) between the Valley Gate and the Dung Gate, in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom. It has been identified with the modern Bîr Eiyûb, which is therefore also sometimes called Nehemiah's Well. But this does not suit the data which Nehemiah gives for its position. All the analogies of the name suggest a spring caused by an earthquake,[2] and this conclusion is supported by the fact that neither the name nor a well in that position occurs either before or after the time of Nehemiah.

Earthquakes may have changed the Jerusalem Springs.

One, therefore, inclines to the probability that we have here, at Jerusalem, a case of a spring opened by earthquake —Uzziah's or another—and afterwards disappearing, as so many wells thus caused have done. But this gives further ground to believe that earthquakes *may* have affected the other springs of Jerusalem; which result of our examination of the subject of earthquakes and springs we carry over into our next chapter on the Waters of Jerusalem.

[1] On 'voices,' 'bellowings,' 'groans,' etc., in earthquakes see a number of citations from Greek and Latin writers in Bochart's *Phaleg*, bk. i. ch. 8, pp. 408 ff.

[2] Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.* coll. 1132, 1133, seeks to show that since there are two classes of serpent-myths, one which takes the reptile as hostile, the other as friendly, to man, and serpents are often associated with wells, Nehemiah's Dragon Spring must belong to the latter. But this is a case, not of a serpent, but of the Dragon, a monster, who is never friendly to man.

CHAPTER V

THE WATERS OF JERUSALEM

IN the introduction to this volume some account has been given of the water-supply of Jerusalem. But a more detailed examination of the hydrography is needed to prepare us for the discussion of the topographical problems. Nowhere so much as in the East do such problems depend on the position and possible alteration of the water sources; but in the case of Jerusalem, the meagreness of these enhances their topographical importance to a degree unusual, even in the Orient. In fact we cannot describe them without at once starting some of the most radical questions concerning the place-names of the City and her environs. The study will also furnish us with material for our subsequent discussion of the economy of Jerusalem: the endowment of the site in the necessaries of human life.

Topographical and Economic Importance of the Subject.

The authorities on the subject are almost too numerous to mention. I confine myself to the principal. Robinson, as elsewhere, ought to be carefully studied;[1] although his treatment of the subject is warped by his erroneous location of Gihon on the west of the city, and although like Tobler[2] he worked before the days of

The Authorities.

[1] *Biblical Researches*, i. ii.; *Later Bibl. Res.* 196 ff. 243 ff.

[2] *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii. 84 ff.

excavation. Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, Colonel Conder, and M. Clermont-Ganneau afford the first results of the latter in the volume of the Survey Memoir on Jerusalem,[1] in many papers in the Quarterly Statement, and in other works.[2] Some materials are supplied by Pierotti, an Italian architect employed by the local authorities.[3] Then come the results of a life-long inspection and study of the springs, pools and aqueducts by Dr. Schick, the practical architect and high authority on the topography of Jerusalem;[4] the results of Dr. Guthe's excavations on Ophel,[5] Dr Bliss's excavations on the South-west Hill and at Siloam;[6] a paper by Dr. Masterman, a resident for some years in the City;[7] Dr. Guthe's article in Hauck's *Realencyclopädie*;[8] and a summary of results in Kuemmel's Materials for the Topography of ancient Jerusalem.[9] Except for certain stretches of the two long-distance aqueducts, the centre of the Siloam Tunnel, Warren's Shaft, the Ḥammam esh-Shefâ and the bottom of the Bîr Eiyûb, which I have not examined, the following study is based on my own observations made during my five visits to the city. For the measurements where they are not taken from the Fund Memoir, references are given below.

[1] *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.'

[2] Especially *The Recovery of Jerusalem* (1871) 233 ff., and Wilson, *The Water Supply of Jerusalem*, an address to the Victoria Institute, 26th May 1902; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, vol. i.; Conder's and Warren's Articles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Wilson's in the 2nd ed. of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*; and that by Robertson Smith, Conder, and the present writer in the *Enc. Bibl.*

[3] *Jerusalem Explored;* to be used with discrimination.

[4] *Z.D.P.V.* i. (1878) 132 ff.: 'Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem,' with a Map and Plans.

[5] *Id.* vol. v. with plans.

[6] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894-1897, especially 24, 53, chs. ii.–v. and ix.

[7] *Biblical World*, 1902.

[8] Vol. viii. 1900.

[9] Published by 'Der Deutsche Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas,' 1906.

1. The Rainfall and other Natural Conditions.

The natural causes which affect the water-supply of Jerusalem are four; three of which may be regarded as practically constant: the Rainfall, the Height and Shape of the Basin in which the City stands, and its Geological Formation; and one which, as we have seen, introduces some uncertainty into the subject, the Earthquakes that have periodically rocked the foundations of the City.

Natural Conditions of the Water-Supply.

We have seen that the average rainfall upon Jerusalem is rather over 25 inches (practically 635 millimetres), or about as much as that of London; but that it falls in winter only, and leaves a long summer drought. One calculation of thirty-two years' observations at a station within the walls gives 25·23 inches (640·8 mm.), another on thirty-nine years gives 26·05 (661·8 mm.).[1]

1. The Rainfall.

[1] Besides Chaplin's article quoted above, p. 18 *n.* 5, see Glaisher 'On the Fall of Rain at Jerus., 1861-1892,' *P.E.F.Q.*, 1894, 39 ff.; in subsequent volumes Glaisher's collections of observations since 1892; H. Hilderscheid, 'Die Niederschlagsverhältnisse Palästinas in alter u. neuer Zeit,' *Z.D.P.V.* xxv. (1902), 1 ff.; also Benzinger *M.u.N.D.P.V.*, 1904, 78 ff. and other papers. Both Chaplin and Hilderscheid present the Biblical data, the latter more fully along with those from the Mishna. The longest series of observations, those of Dr. Chaplin, continued by Mr. J. Gamel, were taken 'in a garden within the City, about 2500 feet above the sea.' Glaisher reckons from them the average of 25·23 inches. They differ curiously from others taken for a period of three years at a lower station in the German Colony on the Buḳei'a to the S.-W. of the City; and from a third series, taken on a higher point, the Syrian orphanage to the N.-W. of the City. Hilderscheid (p. 34) calculates the average of thirty-nine years, as taken at the first of these stations, at 661·8 mm. (26·05 ins.), and those at the two others reduced to the same rate as respectively 547·2 mm. (21·54 ins.) and 579·4 mm. (22·41 ins.). The difference may be due to the different instruments; but Hilderscheid adds the report of a resident, that it 'frequently rains within the City when only a few drops fall at the German colony; also the reverse case was already observed.'

Did the rainfall in ancient times differ from this? The Old Testament data are, of course, not specific, but at least sufficient to justify a negative answer. Some authorities on the climate and fertility of Palestine have, indeed, argued that, as in the Mediterranean basin as a whole, so throughout Palestine in particular, the climate has suffered a change for the worse through the diminution of the rainfall.[1] One of the reasons given for this conclusion is the alleged decrease of the woodlands of the country. I have elsewhere shown that in all probability these were never much greater on Western Palestine than they are to-day.[2] The other natural features by which the rainfall is influenced—the position of the City relatively to the sea, and the prevalent winds—have remained the same; while the references to climate and weather in the Bible and the Mishna are fully consistent with the present conditions. We may conclude, therefore, that the rainfall upon Jerusalem in ancient times must have been very nearly the same as it has been observed to be during the last forty-six years.[3] Even if it was a little greater, the difference cannot have been of much practical moment.

[1] So Hull, *Memoir on Phys. Geology and Geogr. of Arabia Petræa, Palestine, etc.* (in the *P.E.F. Memoirs*), pt. v. ch. ii.; Th. Fischer, *Studien über das Klima der Mittelmeerländer* in Petermann's *Mittheilungen, ergänz. heft* 58, p. 41; and Zumoffen, *La Météorologie de la Palestine, etc.*, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géogr.* 1899, 467. Cf. Blanckenhorn, *Z.D.P.V.* xv. 8, 40, and Buhl, *G.A.P.* 54 f. See also O. Fraas, *Aus dem Orient*, i. 196.

[2] *H.G.H.L.* 80 ff.

[3] Among those who agree that the climate has not much changed, or is virtually the same as in ancient times, are Robinson, who does not argue the question, but generally assumes this answer, or illustrates it (*e.g.*, *B.R.* ii. 97, *Phys. Geog.* 263, 267, 279 f.); similarly Thomson (*L. and B.* 90 f. 395, etc.), and Chaplin, who notes at least the harmony between Scripture references and present conditions, *op. cit.*; Lortet in the Duc de Luynes's *Voyage d'Exploration à la Mer Morte, etc.*, iii. 212; Conder, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1876, 131 ff.; Ankel, *Grundzüge der Landesnatur des Westjordanlandes*, iv. Das Klima; Rindfleisch,

This rainfall of about 25 inches annually happens upon a large basin, from brink to brink some $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 miles by 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$, which lies on the summit of a mountain range. The highest levels of the basin are from 2600 to 2700 feet, the lowest under 2000 feet, above the sea. The fall is therefore for the most part very rapid. The principal hollows by which the basin is drained, begin above the City (as we have seen), deepen round or through its site, and join below its south-east angle upon the one outlet towards the Dead Sea. The City, therefore, is placed where any water that falls in the basin, and runs on or near its surface, must gather before leaving it. Here, then, is one of the reasons why Jerusalem stands exactly where she does. A large town is less possible anywhere else on this part of the range. But while enough water falls within the basin to sustain, if not her full population, yet a considerable one, the limits of the basin, the nearness of the watershed and the rapid slope forbid the formation of any stream or lake.

2. Height and Size of the Basin of Jerusalem.

A more efficient cause for their absence, however, we have already seen in our examination of the geology of the district.[1] In the upper strata of this formation no hard impervious rocks are found, but the soft porous limestone greedily absorbs the rain, and that is the full reason why neither lake nor steady stream has ever blessed the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Pools formed by the winter rains soon

3. The Geology.

Z. D. P. V. xxi. 46 (very sensible remarks on the subject); with great force of detailed argument, Hilderscheid, *Id.* xxv. 99 ff.; and Guthe ('Palästina' in Hauck's *Realencycl. für prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, xiv. 590 ff.), who admits, however, a decrease in the woodland, and in consequence a possible diminution in rainfall.

[1] Chapter iii.

disappear[1] and there are but one or two quickly-drying swamps.[2] Except for a brief interval after heavy downbursts of rain, water does not run above ground outside the Ḳidron Valley. It is in the latter therefore that we must seek for the only stream of the district of which we read in the Bible—not of course on the present bed of the valley, which is of shot rubbish, but some 30 feet below, and 240 to the west. Here the rock—porous as it still is, but with impervious strata immediately below, which tend to turn the waters back—has been found to be moist and in parts covered with mud,[3] while wherever it is exposed it bears marks of having been swept by occasional torrents.[4] Opposite the City these are quickly absorbed by the *débris*; but lower down, beyond the Bîr Eiyûb, they will flow on the surface for several days at a time after the heavy rains of spring.[5] This is the only approach to a stream which is now found in the environs of the City; that it was not otherwise in ancient times is proved by the literature. We have seen Strabo's emphasis on the aridness of the surroundings, and that Dion Cassius gives a still more vivid account of the stagnancy of the water on which Titus had to draw in the neighbourhood.[6] In none of the other classical authorities is there any reference to a perennial stream. Josephus, who several times mentions the Ḳidron,

The Brook Ḳidron.

[1] Schick mentions one which gathers every winter for a few weeks near the Nāblus road, north of the City, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, 9; but this is due to the remains of an artificial pool: see below, p. 119.

[2] See above, p. 16.

[3] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 135.

[4] Cf. Robinson, *B.R.* i. 402.

[5] Thomson, *L. and B.*, 659; 'gushing out like a millstream'; *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerusalem,' 371; Masterman, *Bibl. World*, 1902, 89 f.

[6] Above, p. 16.

describes it generally as a valley or gorge, and once by the Greek word for 'winter' or 'storm torrent,'[1] by which it is also called in the New Testament.[2] It is in this sense that we must take the Hebrew term *naḥal* as applied to the Ḳidron in the Old Testament.[3] Translated *brook* in our versions, *naḥal* means no more than a valley down which a transitory stream may flow after heavy rain; and in fact the Ḳidron is only referred to in the Old Testament as something to be crossed or passed up, or as a place for casting out rubbish: except in one verse which, if the text be sound, speaks *of the Naḥal which rushes* or *gushes in the midst of the land*.[4] But this description is very suitable to the present outbursts after the winter rains below the Bîr Eiyûb. That before the bed of the Wâdy was choked with *débris* these began further up, opposite the City, is very probable. In ancient times when the water of the present Virgin's Spring ran into the Wâdy, there must have been a fitful rill even in the dry season. In the light of this it becomes significant that the Chronicler should include the *naḥal which gusheth* or *overfloweth through the midst of the land* with *the fountains outside the City* that Hezekiah sealed up; for, as we shall see, it was in all probability this king who diverted the water of the Virgin's Spring by a tunnel to a pool within the City. It is true that water has sometimes been found by excavators running down the

[1] Κεδρών or ὁ κεδρών simply v. *B.J.* vi. 1, vii. 3, xii. 2; φάραγξ ix. *Ant.* vii. 3, v. *B.J.* ii. 3, iv. 2, vi. 1, vi. *B.J.* iii. 2; Χειμάῤῥοος or—ἄρρος viii. *Ant.* i. 5.

[2] John xviii. 1, Κεδρὼν.

[3] נַחַל קִדְרוֹן: 2 Sam. xv. 23, 1 Ki. xv. 13, 2 Ki. xxiii. 6, 12, Jer. xxxi. 40, 2 Chr. xv. 16, xxix. 16, xxx. 14. Or הנחל alone, *the* Wâdy *par excellence*, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 14, Neh. ii. 15.

[4] 2 Chron. xxxii. 4.

rock-bed of the Tyropœon.[1] But the fact that the Ḳidron is called in two passages *the* Naḥal, and that no other Jerusalem Valley gets the name, implies that neither in the Tyropœon nor elsewhere about the City was there a flow of water worthy of even the name *storm* or *winter-brook*.[2]

4. Earthquakes and Springs.

The last paragraph has already brought us to the subject of the Springs of Jerusalem. Before beginning this we must recall the great uncertainty introduced into it through the possible disturbance of the subterranean drainage by earthquakes. From our investigation of these,[3] the conclusion was reached

[1] *Recovery of Jerus.*, 77; Warren here sums up his experiences as follows: 'It would appear then that there is still a stream of water, whether from rainfall or from springs, percolating through the Tyropœon Valley.' Warren was working after heavy rain; but we must keep in mind also the leakage and overflow from Hezekiah's Pool and other reservoirs in the north-west of the City.

[2] The passage to which 2 Chron. xxxii. 4 belongs is a difficult one, and objections have been taken to it. But that it represents a sound tradition is probable from what has been said above. The LXX. read the description of the stream differently: τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν διορίζοντα διὰ τῆς πόλεως. If on any grounds this could be argued to be the original meaning, it might refer to a stream flowing down the Tyropœon, which Mommert, for instance, has taken to be *the brook flowing through the midst of the land.* But the Chronicler would hardly have spoken of *a brook flowing through the midst of the land,* along with the fountains outside of the City, had the brook been in the Tyropœon, nor would there have been any use in Hezekiah's sealing such a brook. We may therefore take the Hebrew text to be the original, and the Greek as an emendation made when the fact of a stream, which once flowed from the Virgin's Fountain into the Ḳidron, but was diverted by Hezekiah, had been forgotten; and since it seemed absurd to speak of a stream through the midst of the land, the reading of the Greek was altered to suit the stream Hezekiah made through the tunnel, which in a sense *makes a division through the City.* Sir Charles Wilson would refer the Hebrew phrase to the conduit (see below), which, before the tunnel was constructed, carried the water of the Virgin's Fountain round the base of Ophel to Siloam (*Water Supply of Jerus.*, page 6), and this view is apparently shared by Benzinger on 2 Chron. xxxii. 3. It is not likely, however, that the Chronicler would have described a conduit as a naḥal.

[3] See above, ch. iv.

that the earthquakes with which Jerusalem was visited were associated with the name of one spring—the Dragon's Fountain, and that, in all probability, they have affected others; while the *débris* they have caused may mask some ancient vents of water, and cause their overflow to appear to-day as mere surface percolations.

2. The Springs—Real and Reputed.

In the topography of Jerusalem, few points have raised so much controversy as her various real and reputed springs. In such a basin it is evident that springs are not probable, except where the hard *Lower Mizzeh* comes near the surface. The most natural place to look for them is this same Ḳidron valley; also possibly in the natural grooves which in ancient times descended into it from the East Hill; and in the mouth of the Tyropœon. Everywhere else the porous strata prevail for a great depth below the surface, and we must be on our guard against mistaking their filtrations of water for a real spring.[1] It is true that in recent times, as well as in ancient, rumours have arisen of the existence of fountains about Jerusalem, elsewhere than in the Ḳidron valley; but these have been due either to the exigencies of topographical theories, or to forgetfulness of the distinction just noted, or to a misinterpretation of Biblical texts. Robinson and others have placed the Biblical Giḥon on the west of the City, by the head of the Wâdy er-Rabâbi;[2] and this used to be the common opinion. Others have sought for Giḥon on the north, and

Reputed Springs about Jerusalem.

[1] See above, p. 59, on this distinction.

[2] Robinson, *B.R.* i. 323-329, *L.B.R.* 247 ff.; Schultz, 79; Thomson, *L. and B.*, 655, etc.; Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, 241; and many others.

have taken the aqueduct which runs from the Damascus Gate towards the Temple Area as a channel for its waters.[1] And Pierotti calls the Ḥammam esh-Shefâ, the water-pit in the Tyropœon to the west of the Temple, a spring.[2] But, as Robinson remarks, 'the nature of the ground on the north of the Damascus Gate, shows that no sources of living water ever existed there:'[3] the same objection holds good against his own location of Giḥon on the west, and, as we shall see, Giḥon is to be found, without doubt, in the Ḳidron valley. Careful examination of the Ḥammam esh-Shefâ proves it to be a mere reservoir for the surface waters and percolations immediately under the surface, and no true spring.[4] Other reports of real springs within the City hardly need refutation. The statements by Timochares (2nd cent. B.C.), and Xenophon the topographer, both quoted in the fragments of Alexander Polyhistor (1st cent. B.C.),[5] that the whole town abounds in running water, and that there is 'a spring within the place which throws up water in abundance,' probably refer, the former to the existence of the aqueducts, the latter to the pool of

[1] Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 474. In connection with this may be mentioned the theory of the Rev. George Sandie (*Horeb and Jerus.* Edin. 1864, 275), who locates the City of David on the East Hill, that Giḥon was in the Central Valley, el-Wâd.

[2] *Jerus. Expl.*, 15, 257.

[3] *L.B.R.*, 244; cf. 245, where he shows that the name Mount Gihon, as applied to a ridge of land on the N.W. of the City, does not appear to go farther back than Brocardus, 1283 A.D.; *B.R.* i. 39.

[4] So several writers who have examined the cistern. *E.g.*, Chaplin, *P.E.F. Mem.* 'Jerus.,' 262 ff.; Sir C. Wilson (see below, p. 120); Masterman (*Bibl. World*, 1905, 95 f.). 'An underground tank . . . it contains only dirty water, greatly impregnated with sewage . . . it has no true spring.' K. Furrer's identification of it with the Pool of Bethesda (*Zeitschrift f. N. T. Wissenschaft*, 1902, 260), is based on the assumptions, 1, of a Temple-Spring, 2, of its being intermittent, and 3, of a real spring in the Ḥammam.

[5] Müller, *Fragm. Histor. Graec.* iii. 228 f.

Siloam, still regarded as an 'Ain by the Arabs, because of the issue from the tunnel which fills it.

The question of a real spring within the Temple Area rises from data of somewhat different value. The 'Pseudo-Aristeas' states that the Temple had an inexhaustible supply of water, not only in its wonderful cisterns, but from a copious natural spring within itself.[1] Tacitus speaks of a 'fons perennis aquæ,'[2] apparently also within the Temple. Both these statements may be mere inversions of the prophecy that a fountain of living water would issue from the Sanctuary. At the same time a very deep well beneath the Temple Area, descending far enough to tap some gathering of living water upon the Lower Mizzeh, is perfectly possible. 'It has often occurred to me,' writes Sir Charles Wilson, 'that the Bir el-Arwa, under the Ṣakhra, may be a deep well going down below the floors of the adjacent valleys, and so having an almost constant supply. Such wells are not uncommon in northern Syria, and there is a good example at Shobek in Edom.'[3] Against this hypothesis, so reasonable in itself, there stand the following facts. First, the great complex of cisterns under the Temple Area, in which, so far as they have been explored, no trace of such a well has been found, and second, the aqueduct or aqueducts by which water was brought to the Temple from distant sources.[4] That all these were necessary seems to prove that there never was any considerable spring of water discovered by boring beneath the Temple

The question of a Temple Spring.

[1] Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Introd. to the O.T. in Gr.*, 535. Eng. Trans., 21.

[2] *Hist.* v. 12.

[3] From a private letter to the author, 1903.

[4] See below, p. 120, and p. 124 f.

Area itself; unless such a spring existing in the earlier times disappeared through the influence of the earthquakes, and substitutes for it had to be provided. A more formidable reason against the hypothesis would be the existence of the Water Gate, if it could be proved that this was a Temple Gate, for, if such a spring existed, there would be no need to descend for water into the Ḳidron valley. But a comparison of the passages in which the Water Gate is mentioned convinces me that those are right who take it to have been a City Gate on the eastern wall, even although Nehemiah does not mention it in his account of the rebuilding of that wall.[1] The Water Gate cannot therefore be used in the present argument. Yet the two other facts, or rather our *present* evidence for them, are sufficient to make very doubtful the existence of a fountain within the Temple *enceinte*. The rumours of it are to be explained as above.

We turn now to the Springs, real or reputed, in the Ḳidron valley. Both the Chronicler and Josephus report springs (in the plural) of Jerusalem: the Chronicler when he describes how Hezekiah *took counsel to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the City . . . and they stopped all the fountains and the naḥal which overflowed through the midst of the land*;[2] and Josephus, who reports that when exhorting the Jews to surrender to Titus, he said, 'You know that Siloam as well as the other springs without the City had (before the siege) so failed that water was sold by the jar, whereas they now produce in such abundance for your enemies, that they suffice not only

[1] This opinion is contrary to that which I previously expressed in *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Jerusalem,' § 24, *fin.* col. 2,425.

[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, הַמַּעְיָנוֹת הָעֵינוֹת

for these and their cattle but for their gardens as well.'[1] Both writers have been charged in this with exaggeration, and we are not concerned to defend the accuracy of Josephus, especially on such an occasion; it would certainly be hard to reconcile his statement with those quoted above from Strabo and Dion Cassius, and with the difficulties in finding water to which all other besiegers of the City are known to have been subject. Probably Josephus is referring to the water which Titus brought in sufficiency from distant sources; the aqueducts from the south were then in operation. With regard to the Chronicler's report of *fountains*, the alternatives are either that he uses the plural of *'ain*, the Hebrew word for a real spring, with the same looseness with which it is used in modern Arabic; or that there were, in Hezekiah's time and his own, several springs in the Ḳidron valley which have disappeared as a result of earthquakes; or that he speaks of other wells further off from the City.[2] To-day there are only two wells in the Ḳidron valley which have been claimed to be real springs: the Virgin's Fountain and the Well of Job. These we will now examine.

The 'Ain Sitti Mariam, or Fountain of our Lady Mary, lies in a cave in the west wall of the valley in the rock of the East Hill, some 353 yards south of the south-east angle of the Temple Area. It is also

The 'Ain Sitti Mariam.

[1] Jos. v. *B.J.* ix. 4 (409, 410) πηγαί.

[2] Dr. Masterman suggests (in a letter to the author) that the curious rock-tunnels connected with so many springs in the neighbourhood, *e.g.* 'Ain Kawrar, 'Ain el Khanduk [*P.E.F.Q.* 1902, 245, descriptions and plan by Macalister], 'Ain Ḳaryet es-Sa 'ideh, may have been made at least partially to hide these springs on the approach of a hostile force. A similar kind of tunnel has just been found at 'Ain Ḥôḍ, 'The Apostles' Fountain.' Compare what is said below on the 'Ain el-Lôzeh.

known as the 'Ain Umm ed-Deraj, or Fountain of Steps,[1] which lead down to it from the present surface of the valley. The steps are in two flights. The upper flight of sixteen ends upon a level landing beneath a vault. The lower of fourteen ends under the roof of the cave, and projects seven feet over a rocky basin thirty feet long by eight broad,[2] which fills with water from a hole near its centre. In 1901, in consequence of a diminution of the water, the municipality of Jerusalem had the basin cleared of a large accumulation of rubbish. At the invitation of the late Yusuf Pasha I had the opportunity of accompanying him and Dr. Schick upon an inspection of the well, the results of which have been described by Dr. Schick.[3] Almost six feet west of the lowest step is the opening of the source, a hole in the rock apparently natural and about a foot wide. The cliff above projects eastward over the lower flight of stairs about seventeen feet from the source. The basin, thus situated in a cave on the eastern wall of Ophel, appears to be the original pool of the spring, and is like that of many other springs in Western Palestine.

Its Character; a real Spring.

As is well known, the flow of water in the 'Ain Sitti Mariam is intermittent: the water breaks from the hole in the basin three to five times a day during the rainy season, but during summer twice a day, and after any failure of the spring rains (as in 1901, as well as in other years) less than once. Even when the spring

[1] The legend that Mary washed here the swaddling clothes of her infant is first met with in the fourteenth century. But as far back as the sixth (Antoninus Plac. 590) the house and grave of Mary were pointed out a little higher up the Ḳidron Valley; and no doubt this earlier legend gave rise to the later (cf. Guthe, Hauck's *Realenc.* 'Jerus.' viii. 670). I do not know how far back the earlier name goes.

[2] Baedeker, 5th ed. 1898, gives the dimensions as 3·5 metres by 1·6 or about 11½ feet by 5.

[3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, 29.

rains do not fail, the flow in autumn frequently falls to this minimum. The volume of the water therefore depends immediately on the rain-fall and the ultimate source cannot be deep-seated. But it is useless to deny to the issue the name of Spring, as some have done.[1] The cause cannot be the mere overflow of some of the many cisterns beneath the Temple Area; we shall find evidence that the issue existed at an earlier date than that at which these can have been constructed. Nor does the water gather by mere percolation. It breaks, as we have seen, through what is no artificial conduit, but, to all appearance, the mouth of a natural fissure in the rock. At the other end of this fissure we must assume that there is a cavity in which the volume of water sent forth at each outburst of the spring has room to gather; a cavity which receives water from the porous strata above, but being itself in the harder rock prevents the further passage of the water downwards, and sends it along the fissure to the hole in the cave; the hole, we must remember, occurs on a level not far beneath which the impervious Lower Mizzeh is lying.[2] To water issuing under such conditions we can as little refuse the name of Spring as to scores of other water-sources in Western Palestine; and indeed nearly all modern observers are agreed upon the fact.[3] The inter-

[1] *e.g.* Mommert, *Topographie des alten Jerusalem* erster Theil, 13. His hypothesis, that the Bir Eiyûb or 'En Rogel was the original spring in the Ḳidron valley, and that the 'Ain Sitti Mariam was opened in later times as a vent for the subterranean waters of the Ḳidron valley, close to the City, has no evidence to support it. On the contrary, we shall find proof of the very early existence of the 'Ain Sitti Mariam under the name of Giḥon.

[2] See above, p. 56 f.

[3] *e.g.* Wilson, *Recov. of Jerusalem*, 19; Warren, Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 387; Conder, *Enc. Bibl.* § 11; Socin and Benzinger in *Baedeker*, 5th ed. 98; Buhl, *G.A.P.* 93, etc.; Lagrange, *Revue Biblique*, 1892, 17-38; Masterman, *Bibl. World*, 1905, 91 f.; Guthe, Hauck's *Realenc.* viii. 670. f.; etc. etc.

mittent flow is generally explained as due to the cavity and fissure forming between them a natural syphon. When the water has risen in the former high enough to cover the mouth of the outflow fissure, the whole drains off rapidly till the mouth of the inflow fissure is exposed; and the flow then ceases till water sufficient to repeat the process has again gathered.[1] Colonel Conder thus describes the outburst of the Spring itself: 'When we first entered there was not more than a foot depth of water in the pool, but the rush of water was now very rapid, and the depth increased just after we had reached the foot of the steps to four feet seven inches.'[2] From what we have seen of the connection in folk-lore between dragons and springs, it will not surprise us that the common people explain the intermittent flow of the Virgin's Spring by the story of a Dragon, in the interior of the rock, who swallows the water, but when he sleeps it rushes past him to the issue. Finally the water is clear, but to the taste brackish, as if tainted with the sewage of the City above.

Original direction of the outflow.

At present the water is prevented from flowing out of the cave into the valley of the Ḳidron by the vast accumulation of rubbish, upon which the steps descend to the spring. But before this rubbish was gathered, the water must have flowed out of the cave on the natural surface eastward or south-eastward into the bed of the *naḥal* Ḳidron, thus forming the rill mentioned above.[3] Dr. Schick has reasonably supposed

[1] Guthe (*op. cit.* 671) assumes a double source in the interior of the rock, an irregular as described above, and a regular.

[2] *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 357. Masterman (*op. cit.*) describes the intermittent spring el-Fûwarah 'The Bubbler' in the Wâdy Kilt, where 'the water rises three or four times an hour in a group of natural stony basins.'

[3] P. 61. The bottom of the basin in the cave is, I believe, at least 12 or

that at one time it was intercepted by an artificial pool, somewhere to the south of the present mosque. Sir Charles Wilson has objected[1] that there is no trace or tradition of such a pool, but, as Dr. Masterman points out,[2] there is abundance of room for it in this situation, and the whole ground has yet to be excavated. When we come to discuss the position of the Pool of Bethesda, this possibility must be kept in mind.

Conduits from the Virgin's Spring.

Shut off, however, by the accumulation of rubbish from this its natural direction into the *naḥal* Ḳidron, the water of the Virgin's Spring flows at present, and for ages has flowed, through the celebrated rock-tunnel under Ophel to the Pool of Siloam in the mouth of the Tyropœon. A shaft, communicating between the surface of Ophel and this tunnel, a short distance from the Spring, suggests that this part alone was first made, and that the rest of the tunnel was completed later. And, recently, traces of another artificial conduit have been discovered running outside, down the edge of the valley, southwards. We shall now examine in turn these three, beginning with the last named.

1. Surface Conduit in the Valley.

Some years ago, Dr. Schick discovered the lower end of an aqueduct issuing near the Lower Pool of Siloam, and followed it up towards the Virgin's Spring. The upper end of it, he believed, might be found to start from the landing between the

15 feet below the natural rock in the valley outside. Therefore, either the water gathered to a great depth in the cave, or escaped into the valley by a rift in the rock. The former alternative is supported by the fact that the mouth of the ancient conduit, described below, is at the top of the lower flight of steps, to which, or above which, the water in the basin must have originally risen.

[1] Art. 'Bethesda' in Smith's *D.B.*

[2] *Bibl. World*, 1905, 101.

flights of steps.[1] Here, accordingly, in 1901, a shaft was sunk and the entrance opened to a conduit running south on the edge of the valley towards the Lower Pool of Siloam. This was traced by Messrs. Hornstein and Masterman for a distance of 176 feet, and found to be partly excavated in the rock and partly built with rough stones.[2] Whether it is actually the upper end of Dr. Schick's aqueduct is not yet certain; but, in any case, Dr. Hornstein and Dr. Masterman have proved the existence of a conduit from the Spring along the edge of the valley, southwards, at or near the natural surface. Colonel Conder regards the portion discovered by Dr. Schick as modern; but it would be difficult to discover a reason for the construction of the other portion, which lay exposed outside the ancient wall of Ophel, if the tunnel was already in existence which carries the water under Ophel to Siloam. We may therefore take Hornstein and Masterman's conduit to be the older of the two, and perhaps the first artificial channel carrying the water of the Spring southward.

2. Warren's Shaft and connected Tunnel.

In the famous Tunnel under Ophel which carries the water of the Virgin's Spring south-west to the Pool of Siloam, there are possibly two different stages from different epochs. First, there is that part of the Tunnel immediately contiguous to the Spring which runs in a main direction of a little north of east for 50 feet as far as a great shaft discovered by Sir Charles Warren in 1867, and named after him. This shaft runs straight up through the rock for 44 feet, to a horizontal passage, from the end of which a flight of steps or very steeply sloping passage leads to the surface of

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1891, 13 ff.; cf. 1886, 197 ff.
[2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, January.

Ophel just where, we shall see, the original fortress of Ṣion must have been situated. The purpose of the shaft is clear: it was to enable the garrison to draw upon the Spring from within their wall, which ran upon Ophel above the cave of the Spring. Sir Charles Warren's opinion, that the shaft and the portion of the Tunnel between it and the Spring is of earlier date than the rest of the Tunnel to Siloam, has been generally accepted.[1]

From the Virgin's Spring to its mouth in the Upper Pool of Siloam, the length of the Tunnel has been measured several times by competent hands, with results varying from 1700 to over 1750 feet (about 518 to 535 metres).[2] The direct distance between the two points is only some 1090 feet, or little over 332 m.[3] The Tunnel, therefore, winds considerably, in part probably by the intention of its makers, but also in part from their inability to preserve a straight direction. They began the work from both ends. From the Spring the mine was run almost due east for over 250 feet (this may have been an earlier bit of work), and was then turned to the south. From the Pool, after a few feet north-north-east, the tunnel was driven south-east till the miners reached the line on which their fellows were working southwards, and turned sharply north to meet them at a point discovered by Colonel Conder approximately half-way between the points where each had curved.[4] The

3. Tunnel to Siloam.

[1] *Recovery of Jerus.*, 238. *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 353 ff.

[2] Warren, *Recov. of Jerus.* 212, 1708 feet, 520·58 m.; Conder, *Enc. Bibl.* § 11, 1708 feet; Robinson, *B.R.* i. 503, 1750 feet, 533·5 m., cf. Baedeker, 5th ed. 99; Conder, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1882, 122 ff., 1757 ft. 4 in., 535·6 m.; the difference seems due to the exclusion from the smaller estimate of 50 ft. at the N. end.

[3] As in Sir Charles Wilson's *Plan of Jerus.*, red. from the Ordnance Survey.

[4] But about 945 feet from the Pool and 813 from the Spring, according to his measurement (*i.e.* 287·7 and 247·9 metres respectively).

great curve on the south M. Clermont-Ganneau and Dr. Bliss supposed to have been due to the wish of the miners to avoid the Tombs of the Kings of Judah.[1] Whether this was the exact cause remains uncertain ; but the intentional character of the curve seems clear from the fact that the two parties afterwards worked on the same line north and south. Indeed, from the point at which they met, it appears as if the northern party started on their southward turn to meet the southern party only when these had turned their curve. But the winding of their courses as they approached each other, with the fact that more than once they deserted directions in which they were travelling, proves that they were not always sure of their way. Nevertheless, allowing, as we cannot help doing, that the great curve was intentional, and considering that the miners had to work without a compass, we cannot but wonder at their skill as well as their enterprise and industry. The present height of the tunnel varies from over 11 feet at the south end, and over 6 at the north, to under 2 at various other points, and at one place to as low as 16 inches (about 410 mm.). But as in these last cases the bottom is hard chalky mud, and the rock has not been reached, the original height of the channel must have been greater. The fall of the bed has been reckoned by Colonel Conder as under a foot, or about 300 mm.

The Inscription of the Tunnel.

In the year 1880 an inscription, now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, was discovered on a prepared surface on the right wall of the Tunnel, some 19 feet from the Siloam outlet. It

[1] Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. Critique*, 1887, *Athenæum*, Sept. 11, 1897, 361, and *Les Tombeaux de David et des Rois de Juda et le tunnel-aqueduct de Siloé* (Extrait des Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript. et Belles Lettres), 1897. See F. J. Bliss, *Excav. in Jerus.*, 1894-1897, 230 f.

consists of six lines of Hebrew prose, of pure classical style, in the ancient script used by Israel up to the time of the Exile, and recounts the completion of the Tunnel. There is no doubt that it is from the makers themselves, but it contains, remarkably, no royal or official name. The few lacunae can be easily supplied, and among the many epigraphists who have studied the inscription there remains no doubt as to the meaning, except of a word or two. There have been several reproductions of the inscription, and numerous translations, descriptions and treatises on the subject.[1] The following is the text with a translation. The *lacunæ*, which can be supplied with some certainty, are given in brackets; the others are represented by dots. Dots also separate the words.

1. . . . הנקבה · וזה · היה · דבר · הנקבה · בעוד · [מניפם · החצבם · את]
2. הגרזן · איש · אל · רעו · ובעוד · שלש · אמת · להנק[ב · נשמ]ע · קל · איש · ק
3. רא · אל · רעו · כי · הית · זדה · בצר · מימן · ו . . . אל · ובים · ה
4. נקבה · הכו · החצבם · איש · לקרת · רעו · גרזן · על · גרזן · וילכו
5. המים · מן · המוצא · אל · הברכה · במאתים · ואלף · אמה · ומ [א]
6. ת · אמה · היה · גבה · הצר · על · ראש · החצב[ם]

TRANSLATION.

1. . . the boring. And this was the matter of the boring: when yet [the hewers were lifting]

[1] First reports of the discovery in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1881, 141 ff., and *Z.D.P.V.*, 1880, 3, 54 f.: see further *P.E.F.Q.*, 1882, 122 ff. (Conder), 1890, 208 ff., 1897, 204 ff.; and *Z.D.P.V.*, 1881, 102 ff., 250 ff., 260 ff., 1882, 205 ff. Full accounts with facsimiles and translations, Guthe, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1882, 725 ff. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, i., Pl. xvi.; Euting in Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Grammar;* Driver, *Notes on the Text of the Bks. of Samuel*, xv.; Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, i. 594 (1897); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nord-semitischen Epigraphik*, 1898; Socin, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1899, 61, and (separate ed.) *Die Siloahinschrift z. Gebrauch bei akad. Vorlesungen*, 1899; G. A. Cooke, *Text book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (without facsimile, but with alphabet), 1903. Cf. D. M. Ross, *The Cradle of Christianity*, 1893.

2. the pick, each towards his fellow, and when yet there were three cubits to be bored, [hear]d was the voice of each
3. calling to his fellow; for there was a fissure (?) from south even [to nor]th.[1] And on the day of the
4. boring, the hewers struck, each to meet his fellow, pick against pick; then went
5. the waters from the issue to the pool for two hundred and a thousand cubits, and a
6. hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the hewer[s].

The word translated 'fissure (?)' is of uncertain meaning; but the meaning given is a possible one,[2] and suits the preceding phrase to which it is the explanation, 'the voice of the one party was heard calling to the other.' The point at which they met was, as we have seen, about half way up the north and south stretch of the tunnel. If just before meeting, and while still three cubits, or about four and a half feet, distant from each other, they broke into a north and south fissure, this, and only this, would enable them to speak to each other. They might hear the picks through four and a half feet of solid rock: hardly the human voice. The figures in the last two lines are evidently round numbers.[3] On 'the hundred cubits of rock above the head of the hewers,' Col. Conder remarks: 'towards the north, the rock surface is 170 feet above the roof of the tunnel.'[4]

[1] Literally: 'from the right hand even [to the le]ft.

[2] זְהָה has been suggested by Blake, *Journ.* of Amer. Orient. Soc. xxii. 1. (1901), 52 f., as if from זנך with the radical meaning 'narrow.' G. A. Cooke translates 'split.' Socin leaves the word untranslated.

[3] G. A. Cooke, p. 17.

[4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1882, 127.

THE LOWER KIDRON VALLEY: LOOKING SOUTH.

On the left the Village of Silwân: on the right near the Valley-bed the position of the Virgin's Spring: beyond, the Jebel Deir Abu Ṭôr.
Taken from the *débris* near the S.E. Corner of the Temple Area.

The water, then, of the Virgin's Spring was brought by this Tunnel to a Pool (Hebrew *bĕrekah*) represented to-day by the Birket Silwan, usually called the Upper Pool of Siloam. As it issues into this, spasmodically because still under the influence of the intermittent flow described above, the people give it the name of Spring; it is in Arabic the 'Ain Silwân. The Pool, according to Dr. Bliss, who was the first fully to excavate it, was originally about fifty feet square; and he assigns its construction to the Herodian period. Subsequently it was so built upon, that the present pool is an oblong of some fifty by fifteen feet. What the size was of the pool which preceded it in the days when the tunnel was constructed, we are unable to say.[1] Dr. Guthe had previously, in 1882,[2] reported the discovery of a pool to the north-east of the present Birket Silwân, with an inlet in its west wall; but this does not appear in Messrs. Bliss and Dickie's plans. Either it is only the north-east corner and part of the eastern wall of their Herodian pool, or else the remains, as Dr. Guthe himself takes it, of the pool which preceded the Herodian.[3] Against the latter alternative is the fact that the Tunnel does not run into it. An outlet from the Birket Silwân on the south—as well as one on the south wall of Guthe's pool[4]—admits the water

'Ain and Birket Silwan.

[1] *Excavations at Jerus.*, 1894-97, chs. iv. v. and p. 330. The Pool, as excavated by Dr. Bliss, was surrounded by an arcade (cf. the evidence of the Bordeaux Pilgrim). The western and the northern sides were in large parts hewn out of the solid rock, and Dr. Bliss thinks that the rudely hewn scarps indicate the sides of the pool, before it was built up in Roman times (p. 157).

[2] *Z.D.P.V.* v. 59 ff., 355 ff. with Tafel ii. Hauck's *Realencycl.* viii. 681, lines 55 ff., and 686, lines 45 ff. See also Kuemmel, *Materialien z. Topogr. des alt. Jerus.* 149.

[3] Hauck's *Realencycl.* viii. 681, lines 55 ff., and 686, lines 45 ff.; cf. Kuemmel, *Materialien z. Topogr. des alten Jerus.* 149, and Plan.

[4] *Z.D.P.V.* v. 131, with Tafel ii. and Kuemmel's Plan.

to a conduit which carries it, not into the Lower Pool of Siloam, but past this into the Ḳidron valley.

The so-called Lower Pool of Siloam, the Birket el-Ḥamrâ, lies to the south-east of the Birket Silwân, in the very mouth of the Tyropœon valley; about 150 feet by 110. This has never been thoroughly excavated; but occupies, in all probability, the site of an ancient reservoir, in which the surface waters of the Tyropœon, as well as those brought from the Virgin's Spring by the Ḳidron valley aqueduct, were stored for the irrigation of the gardens below. At present it is an open cesspool, receiving that part of the City's sewage which succeeds in reaching it down the Tyropœon. But in ancient times, as Dr. Bliss has shown, the great drain of this valley passed it on the west.

Birket el Ḥamrâ.

Down the Ḳidron valley, nearly 1000 feet from the Birket el-Ḥamrâ, lies the Bîr Eiyûb, or Well of Job (sometimes also called Nehemiah's Well, from an erroneous location of his Dragon Spring). This is a great well, 125 feet deep or 38·1 metres, the water in which has seldom been known to fail, and can be drawn upon all the year round.[1] From an overflow near this well,[2] the stream spoken of above breaks down the valley for a few days after the Latter Rains, and its appearance is taken as the token of a fruitful year. Whether we have

Bir Eiyûb.

[1] 'In the height of a particularly dry summer I have known of a hundred and twenty animals—donkeys, mules, and horses—being employed night and day carrying goatskins of water (two or three to each animal) up to Jerusalem. On an average every animal made four or five journeys within the twenty-four hours. In addition great quantities of water were taken locally—for Silwân and for the vegetable gardens near the well.'—Masterman, *Bibl. World*, 1902, 89.

[2] *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 371.

in the Well only the gathering of the surface water or a true spring, and whether a spring existed here in ancient times, are questions which have been much discussed. Some take the Bîr Eiyûb not only to have been a real spring, but in early times at least the only one about Jerusalem.[1] It is true that the quality of the water is distinctly better than that of the Virgin's Spring, but this may be due to the further filtration of such supplies as reach it from the latter, and to additional percolations from the surface of the valleys, which meet above it. Is there besides a deep natural spring still undiscovered? Sir Charles Wilson, who descended and carefully examined the Well, answers in the negative. 'There can be no doubt,' he says, 'as to its not being a true spring. The bottom of the well is cemented so as to form a collecting basin, and it is quite apparent that the well has been deepened at least once, and possibly oftener, to obtain infiltration. When I went down there was hardly any water in the basin, and I could see water "weeping" into the shaft between the strata. The upper part of the well, in the rubbish, has been lined with masonry.'[2] Nevertheless we cannot altogether dismiss the possibility of a real spring in former times in this the lowest level of the district round Jerusalem, and a spot too where, as we have seen, the soft *meleki* strata suddenly come to an end.[3] The sites of such large wells are not chosen without there being some special attraction in them to the seekers for water. This attraction may have been the annual outburst of the stream in the immediate neighbourhood; or it may have been a small more constant spring,

[1] Mommert, *Topogr. des alten Jerus.* i. 13 f.
[2] From a letter to the author.
[3] Above, p. 57.

which has now disappeared through the influence of the earthquakes, or whose presence has been masked by the building of the Well. The question is certainly not closed.[1] The underground conduits leading down the valley near the Well which were discovered by Sir Charles Warren are, as Sir Charles Wilson has written, 'almost certainly the drainage system of the ancient City,' with 'a series of tanks for the deposit of the solid matter, and steps by which they could be cleaned.'[2]

'Ain el-Lôzeh.

Some 585 yards (about 535 metres) south of the Bîr Eiyûb, by the junction of the Wady Yasûl with the W. en Nâr, is the 'Ain el-Lôzeh, or Almond-tree spring. I have myself never seen it flow; and I believe that it does so only after heavy rain. Near is an ancient shaft, blocked with earth which is said to lead to a long subterranean channel hewn in the rock.[3]

Possibilities of Water in the W. er-Rabâbi.

Returning now to the Wâdy er-Rabâbi and its southern portion, immediately about its junction with the Ḳidron valley, we find that there is here neither a spring, nor the name nor trace of a spring. But some 460 yards up from the mouth of the Wâdy we come, in the bed of it, upon the remains of an ancient rock-cut conduit, about 126 yards in length: whether to carry off the surface water, or water from a now vanished spring, it is impossible to say. Nor must we omit to notice the great accumulation of *débris* at the issue of the W. er-

[1] I had formerly suggested (*Expositor*, March 1903, 218) that we might expect a spring to issue on the east edge of the Ḳidron valley, for the Mount of Olives above this must receive an immense amount of water. But Sir Charles Wilson has rightly pointed out to me that the dip of the strata eastward contradicts this suggestion.

[2] From a letter to the author.

[3] *P.E.F. Mem.* iii. 372 f.; Schick and Benzinger, *Z.D.P.V.* xviii. 150, with Schick's Map of the nearer surroundings of Jerusalem.

Rabâbi into the Ḳidron valley.[1] Relevant to our present subject of the hydrography are the questions whether this unusually large heap of rubbish may not be due to an earthquake, and whether it may not mask, on what is not an unlikely place for a spring to issue, some ancient spring now forgotten.

3. The Identification of the Springs.

Such are the essential details of the waters, and of the system of water supply, which are discoverable in the valley of the Ḳidron, and the mouths of the Tyropœon and Hinnom. Our next duty is to inquire whether any of them are identical with the Biblical sources, channels, or pools of water about Jerusalem, and in particular with the names Shiloaḥ, Giḥon, 'En-rogel, and the Dragon's Spring. In undertaking this inquiry we have, as before, to keep in mind the uncertainty introduced into the question by the earthquakes, one of the worst of which, as described by Josephus, affected especially this part of the environs of the City. We have seen that earthquakes may have seriously altered the subterranean drainage of this region as a whole; while it is still more possible that the deep *débris* cast here, a large part of which has not yet been excavated, may have choked or masked vents of the underground waters, which in ancient times were known and named.

Identification of foregoing with Bible names.

Some facts, however, are clear, and we shall start with the most undoubted. The surface aqueduct, the short tunnel and shaft, and the long tunnel, all leading from the Virgin's Spring, prove that when they were executed the Spring was already a considerable

Date of the Tunnel.

[1] See above, p. 41 f.

source of living water. The characters of the inscription, describing the excavation of the Tunnel, are archaic, and the writing may be of any date before the Exile. There is a general agreement among scholars to assign it to the eighth century B.C., a period when great public works were executed by at least three kings, Uzziah, Jotham and Hezekiah. The Biblical evidence that Hezekiah was the author appears to me as conclusive as could be expected for so remote a date. According to the annalists of Judah, Hezekiah *made the pool and the conduit, and brought water into the City.*[1] In the time of the Chronicler, whatever be the date of his sources, the tradition was that this conduit and pool were the Tunnel and a Pool on the site of, or near to, the present Birket Silwân. No other conclusion seems possible from the Chronicler's words: *And he sealed the issue of the waters of Gihon the upper, and directed them down westwards to the City of David;*[2] *he built an outer wall to the City of David, west of Gihon, in the Nahal, even up to the entry of the Fish Gate, and he surrounded the 'Ophel and made it,* the wall, *very high.*[3] Another passage, which we have already quoted, explains his purpose: *they sealed all the springs, and the Nahal flowing through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the Kings of Assyria come and find much water?*[4] We have seen that in the Old Testament the *Nahal* is always the Kidron valley, with its winter or storm brook. Ophel is universally identified with the ridge of the East Hill, at the eastern foot of which the Virgin's Spring issues. The 'City of David,' we shall see in the next chapter, stood upon Ophel. *An outer wall to the City of David, west of*

[1] 1 Ki. xx. 20.
[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.
[3] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.
[4] 2 Chron. xxxii. 4.

Gihon, would run along just the natural line for such a wall, to the west of and above the Virgin's Spring. The Spring lay, therefore, outside this wall, and Hezekiah's purpose to prevent besiegers from using it could be achieved only by the stoppage of its natural or artificial issue into the Kidron valley, and the conveyance of its waters to the pool in the Tyropœon by the Tunnel, the course of which is more or less exactly described by the words, *he directed the waters of Gihon the upper, down westwards to the City of David.* The Tunnel, therefore, was made by Hezekiah, and at his date, the eighth century B.C., the present Virgin's Spring was in existence.[1]

The Shiloah —Siloam.

But if the Tunnel was made by Hezekiah, and is so obviously intended to supersede both the surface aqueduct in the valley, traced by Messrs. Schick, Hornstein and Masterman, and the shaft discovered by Sir Charles Warren, these must date from still earlier periods. The surface aqueduct ran to the mouth of the Tyropœon, either into a pool on the site of the Birket el Hamrà, or in order to feed, along with the surface waters of the Tyropœon itself, a number of channels for the irrigation of the gardens in the valley of the Kidron. Now we have contemporary evidence that in the reign of Ahaz, the immediate predecessor of Hezekiah, there was here a conduit, or system of conduits. In an oracle of that reign Isaiah says:[2] *forasmuch as this people despises*

[1] This opinion is now generally accepted. I need only quote the names of some of its supporters: Warren (*Recov. of Jerus.*, 238; cf. *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 6, 94, by Warren and Conder), Robertson Smith (*Enc. Brit.*, 9th ed.), Sir Charles Wilson (*Water Supply of Jerus.*, 7, 'probably'), Socin. and Benzinger (*Baedeker*, 5th ed., 98, 'höchst wahrscheinlich'); Buhl (*G.A.P.* 138 ff.), Guthe (Hauck's *Realencycl.* viii. 681 f., where the identification is taken as 'a fixed point'). From the epigraphic side of the question, G. A. Cooke (*N. Sem. Inscr.* 16) and others.

[2] Isaiah viii. 6.

the waters of the Shiloaḥ, which flow gently and . . .[1] *therefore, lo, the Lord will bring up against them the waters of the River*, the Euphrates. *The Shiloaḥ*, or (according to another ancient spelling) *Shilloaḥ*,[2] is a passive form, and means the *sent* or *conducted*.[3] No one doubts that it applies to the water-system in or about the mouth of the Tyropœon, where the name has always been at home. In Josephus *Siloa* or *Siloam*, when used with the feminine article,[4] is a copious spring of sweet water, obviously the issue of water from the Tunnel into the Birket Silwân, which in Arabic is still called 'Ain Silwân. But Josephus also uses Siloa with the masculine article,[5] which has been held to mean 'the district of Siloa';[6] and this wide sense is that in which Dr. Guthe interprets Isaiah's *Shiloaḥ*. *The waters of the Shiloaḥ which go softly* would accordingly mean, all the water artificially controlled and led about the mouth of the Tyropœon, in order to irrigate the gardens in the Ḳidron valley.[7] But whether we put this

[1] This clause is uncertain: see Cheyne in *S.B.O.T.* and Marti's commentary.

[2] So the *Cod. Babyl.*, the *Complutensian Bible*, and other early eds. This reading is accepted by Baer, but not in Kittel's edition.

[3] In later Hebrew שִׁלַּח means *outpouring irrigation*, בֵּית הַשִּׁלְחִין *an irrigated field.*

[4] ἡ Σιλωά so in Niese's text (the oblique cases), but some MSS. have Σιλωάμ; v. *B.J.* iv. 2. Cf. vi. 1, ix. 4; vi. *B.J.* viii. 5. And ἡ Σιλωάμ v. *B.J.* xii. 2.

[5] Μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωά (Niese: some MSS. have Σιλωάμ), ii. *B.J.* xvi. 2; vi. *B.J.* vii. 2.

[6] Sc. χῶρος: cf. Guthe, *Z.D.P.V.* v. 359 ff. The masculine article is also used in the N.T. with the form Σιλωάμ, Luke xiii. 4, John ix. 7. The form Σειλωάμ or Σιλωάμ is that used in the LXX. of Isai. viii. 3, though some codd. read Σιλωά.

[7] But of course, at the time Isaiah used it, the name would not cover the Tunnel, which was made after this by Hezekiah. Buhl is therefore right in taking the name as older than the Tunnel (*G.A.P.* 139, 139).

or a more particular meaning upon the name, the *Shiloaḥ* implies the existence in the reign of Ahaz of a conduit, or conduits, inclusive of the surface-conduit from the Virgin's Spring to the mouth of the Tyropœon. This latter also suits *the conduit of the upper pool towards the highway of the fuller's field*,[1] mentioned in another passage of the same date; in that case *the upper pool* would be the basin of the Virgin's Fountain, to which, as we have seen, the Chronicler applies the epithet *upper*.[2] Yet this conduit of the upper pool on the highway of the fuller's field is described later on as the place where the envoy of Sennacherib met the representatives of Hezekiah; and on the ground that 'no general commanding an army would go down to the mouth of the Tyropœon valley, but would speak to them from some point on the plateau to the north,' Sir Charles Wilson holds that this conduit must be placed on the north of the City.[3] I appreciate the military reason, but it is not conclusive. The parley was possible in the valley beside what was still the principal part of the City; and it is hard to think of the *fuller's field* as anywhere but on this lowest level of the environs, where alone water abounded.[4] A gloss to one of the later oracles of Isaiah[5] records *a lower pool*, and *a reservoir*

[1] Isai. vii. 3.

[2] Stade, Marti, etc., identify *the upper pool* with the pool which Guthe (*Z.D.P.V.* v. 355 ff.) claims to have discovered a few feet to the N.E. of the Birket Silwân; but, as we have seen (above, p. 97), this may be only part of the wider ancient pool which extended on both sides of the present Birket Silwân, and was excavated by Bliss.

[3] In a letter to the author. Cf. Guthe in Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 681.

[4] Note the cavern south of the Triple Gate described by Warren (*Rec. of Jerus.*, 306 ff.). He suggests it may have been a fuller's shop, and cites the tradition that St. James was thrown over the outer wall of the Temple enclosure, and that a fuller took the club with which he pressed the clothes and beat out the head of the Just One.

[5] xxii. 9b-11a.

between the two walls for the waters of the old pool. But as these references are of uncertain date, and an intrusion into their context, it is impossible to define their data. Nehemiah mentions as immediately north of the Fountain Gate (which lay immediately south of the mouth of the Tyropœon, at the extreme south-east angle of the City), *the pool of the Shelaḥ*,[1] that is, *aqueduct* or *irrigation*. This must have been one of the two in the mouth of the Tyropœon, probably the pool into which Hezekiah's conduit led; and the other *the king's pool*,[2] which he also mentions there. He also gives *the made*, or *artificial, pool*[3] to the north of *the pool of the Shelaḥ*, that is, nearer to the Virgin's Spring.

Except that, as we have seen, it must be earlier than Hezekiah's tunnel, the date of Warren's shaft, with the portion of the tunnel leading from it to the Virgin's Spring, is quite uncertain. Its purpose was to enable the water to be drawn by buckets to the summit of the rock above, at a position which was probably that of the fortress Ṣion.[4] It has consequently been assigned by some to David's or Solomon's time, by others to that of the Jebusites, and in the latter case has been taken to be the very *ṣinnôr* (E. V. *gutter* and *water-course*), by which David urged his men to take the fortress.[5] The text of this passage, and the meaning of *ṣinnôr* are, however, too uncertain to confirm the latter suggestion; and the other more general date remains only a probable conjecture.[6]

Date of Warren's Shaft.

[1] iii. 15: but see Guthe, *Z.D.P.V.* v. 371 f. [2] ii. 14.
[3] iii. 16. [4] See below, ch. vi.
[5] 2 Sam. v. 8. צִנּוֹר used in Ps. xlii. 8, as a torrent or cataract, but in N. Heb. as a watercourse or conduit.
[6] On the identification of Warren's shaft with the *sinnôr*, see Birch,

We have seen that in the Chronicler's time, about 300 B.C., the Virgin's Spring was known as *Gihôn the upper*. The name Gihon, derived from a verb meaning to *burst* or *bubble forth*, exactly suits the intermittent violent action of the Virgin's Spring, and may be compared with the Arabic El-Fûwarah, 'The Bubbler,' applied to the intermittent spring in the Wâdy Kelt.[1] That it is called *Gihon the upper* is, of course, due to the fact that, in the Chronicler's day, the water issuing from the other end of the tunnel would be known as *the lower Gihon*. And in fact the connection of Gihon with the Shiloah is from this time onwards a close one. The Targum gives *Shilloah* or *Shîllôḥā* as an equivalent for *Gihôn*,[2] and both D. Kimchi and Rashi take them as identical. It is difficult to understand how, even under the strong influence of tradition, earlier explorers were led to place Gihon in the west or north of the City,[3] when the Biblical evidence we have quoted, supported by later Jewish opinion, so definitely marks the Spring as on the east and in the Kidron valley; where now nearly all the leading authorities are agreed as to its identification with the Virgin's Spring.[4]

Gihon the Virgin's Spring.

P.E.F.Q., 1891, 80, and previous papers. Guthe has recently adhered to the view of a date in David's or the Jebusite period (Hauck's *Real-Enc.* viii. 682, line 11).

[1] גִּיחוֹן from גִּיחַ *gîḥ*;—ôn being a common termination in place-names. The derivation by Chaplin (*P.E.F.Q.* 1890, 124) from גחן, *to creep*, is not probable etymologically, and the meaning, 'place one needs to creep through,' as due to the tunnel, is open to the objection, stated by Birch (*ibid.* 200) that the name, as we shall see, is older than the Tunnel.

[2] 1 Ki. i. 33, 38; Reland and De Vogüé adhered to the identification.

[3] See above, p. 83 f.

[4] Furrer in Schenkel's *B.L.* ii. 463; Conder, *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 366; Chaplin, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1890, 124; Birch, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1889, 208; Robertson Smith,

There is, however, still earlier Biblical evidence for Giḥon. King David sent Solomon *down* to be crowned at Giḥon, and after the ceremony was over the company *came up* from Giḥon to David.[1] As the king was in the 'City of David' on Ophel,[2] this is further proof, if it were needed, that Giḥon lay in the valley of the Ḳidron. By David's time Giḥon must have been a sacred and therefore an ancient well. We have thus every reason to believe that it was the original well of the City, whose position underneath the ridge of Ophel determined the choice of this ridge as the site of the earliest fortress. Upon the heaped rubbish at the foot of the now naked hill, and amid the squalid bustle which prevails there to-day, one forgets that this was the scene of Solomon's coronation. But in that day the precipitous rock with the fortress above it, the open cave with the mysterious intermittent fountain, apparently directed by an immediate supernatural agency, must have formed a fitting theatre for the first coronation of an Israelite King in Jerusalem.

Early evidence for Giḥôn.

We now turn to the other name for a spring in the neighbourhood: 'En-rogel. This is usually rendered *Fuller's Spring*; but *rogel* is not the Hebrew for *fuller*, and a more probable meaning is offered

'En-rogel.

Enc. Brit. 9th ed.; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 294; Socin and Benzinger in *Baedeker*, 5th ed. 98; Buhl, *G.A.P.* 93, etc.; Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. (1900) 670; Wilson, *Water Supply, etc.*, 1902, 7; the author's paper, *Expositor*, March 1903, 224; Masterman, *Bibl. World*, 1905, 99. Of course both Wilson and Guthe reached this conclusion much earlier than the date of their statements referred to above.

[1] See below, p. 110.

[2] 1 Ki. i. 33, 38, 45; בְּגִחוֹן. The Heb. preposition means *in*, but that, with the name of a well, it may be used for *beside* is seen from 1 Sam. xxix. 1: the Israelites pitched בְּעֵין, *beside the fountain*.

by the Syriac, *rogûlo*, 'current' or 'stream.'[1] 'En-rogel was either the Virgin's Spring or the Bîr Eiyûb, or some other spring in the Ḳidron valley now lost. The Biblical data are these. When David fled before Absalom, Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed in 'En-rogel, out of sight of the City, to obtain news of the progress of the revolt.[2] When Adonijah set himself up as David's successor, on the same day as Solomon was crowned, *he sacrificed sheep, oxen, and fatlings by the stone of the Zoḥeleth, which is beside 'En-rogel.*[3] And the Priestly Code mentions 'En-rogel as the southmost point of the border between Judah and Benjamin, which thence turned north up *the valley of Hinnom to the shoulder of the Jebusite.*[4] On these data some have identified 'En-rogel with Giḥon and the Virgin's Spring, because the latter is the only known spring now in the valley, or because the name Zoḥeleth is 'still attached to the rocky ascent to the village of Silwân,'[5] opposite the spring; or because the Spring cannot be seen from the City, where Absalom was in power.[6] But the identification of the Virgin's Spring, which we have seen to be Giḥon, is excluded by the narrative of Solomon's coronation there, from which the simultaneous feast of Adonijah at the stone Zoḥeleth was at such a distance that Adonijah's company could not see Solo-

[1] Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch*, ii. 406. We need not ask, therefore, whether 'En-rogel had any thing to do with the *field of the fuller* (כּוֹבֵס) which must have lain outside the mouth of the Tyropœon. See above, p. 105.

[2] 2 Sam. xvii. 17. [3] 1 Ki. i. 9.

[4] Josh. xv. 7, cf. xviii. 16. The issues of the border were at 'En-rogel, that is to say, its furthest point in the southerly direction.

[5] In the form Zeḥweileh; Cl.-Ganneau in *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 293.

[6] Supporters of the identification of the Virgin's Spring with 'En-rogel are Cl.-Ganneau, as above, Wilson ('possibly'), *Water-Supply, etc.*, 6 and elsewhere; Warren in Hastings' *D.B.* art. 'Hinnom.'

mon's, but only heard the noise of their jubilant return to the City; nor did they learn what had taken place at Gihon till messengers came and told them.[1] Besides, the position assigned by the Priestly Code to 'En-rogel must either be at the mouth of the valley of Hinnom or to the south of that; and with this agrees the statement of Josephus, that the spring near which Adonijah feasted lay in the king's paradise or garden.[2] The Zoheleth, too, was *a stone*, that is, probably, a separate rock or boulder, not such a rocky incline as stands opposite the Virgin's Spring on the ascent to Silwan; and if the name Zehweileh is to be brought into the argument, Dr. Masterman informs me that, though always pointed out by the villagers of Silwân as one definite smooth surface of rock, just below their houses, it appears to cover the 'long ridge running all the way on a definite line of strata, even as far as the Bîr Eiyûb.'[3] Besides, if the name is the same, it has drifted up the valley. On all these grounds, then, we are justified in concluding that 'En-rogel was not the Virgin's Spring, but lay some way off down the valley, and is either represented by the Bîr Eiyûb, which, as we have seen, may represent an ancient spring,[4] or was a fountain now lost. It is possible to account for the disappearance of 'En-rogel, *the spring of the current* or *stream*, and the presence in its place of the deep well Bîr Eiyûb, by such an earthquake and displacement of the hill-side, as Josephus describes having taken place at 'En-rogel. But if 'En-rogel was elsewhere in the neighbourhood, the same causes may now mask its true position; and send its waters trickling

[1] 1 Ki. i. 41-46.

[2] vii. *Ant.* xiv. 4. On the other hand, in ix. *Ant.* x. 4, Josephus seems to place Eroge or 'En-rogel to the east, not the south, of the City: this, however, is not certain.

[3] From a letter.

[4] See above, p. 100.

through the *débris* to feed the Bîr Eiyûb and the stream which in spring breaks out close by.[1] The 'Ain el-Lôzeh seems rather far off to be identified with 'En-rogel.

It is possible that 'En-rogel is not always used in the Old Testament as the name of a spring. While waiting for information from the City to carry to David, Jonathan and Ahimaaz, anxious as they were to escape the notice of the people of Jerusalem, would hardly choose so public a place as a frequented Spring.[2] A suburban village would better suit their purpose, and the 'En-rogel of their story may well be such a village standing on the eastern bank of the Ḳidron valley, either on the site of the present Silwân or further to the south. It may also be a village which is intended by 'En-rogel in the delimitation of the frontier between Judah and Benjamin.[3]

'En-rogel possibly also a village.

The question of Nehemiah's Spring of the Dragon we have already sufficiently discussed.[4] Nehemiah went towards it after coming out of the *Gate of the Gaî* or *Hollow*, that is the Gai ben Hinnom, the present Wâdy er-Rabâbi;[5] and before he reached the Dung Gate towards the end of the Ravine. The spring

The Dragon Spring.

[1] Among those who, on the Biblical data, place 'En-rogel at or near the Bir Eiyûb, are Robinson, Tobler, Thomson, Mommert, Socin and Benzinger ('probably'). Buhl, p. 94, agrees that the Bîr Eiyûb suits the Biblical evidence for 'En-rogel, and Guthe (671) says the latter was evidently near the conjunction of the Ḳidron and Hinnom valleys. The author feels that the additional arguments given above remove the objections candidly felt by some of the above writers to this the only location for 'En-rogel which suits the Biblical data.

[2] 2. Sam. xvii. 17.

[3] Josh. xv. 7, xviii. 16.

[4] See above, p. 74. The Spring of the Dragon עֵין הַתַּנִּין. The LXX. has Well of the Figs, תְּאֵנִים, but the Hebrew text is confirmed by Lucian: τοῦ δράκοντος.

[5] See below, p. 175 f.

was, therefore, in the Ravine, either some way up it, and if so, perhaps connected with the detached length of water-course we have seen there, or more probably near the mouth, where the considerable *débris* may now easily mask it.[1]

4. The Reservoirs and Aqueducts.

The artificial water-supplies.

I turn now from the real and reputed Springs of Jerusalem to the extraordinary artificial provision which the City shows for collecting the rain and surface water, and for bringing in supplies from a distance. Nothing of the ancient building has been so well preserved as the reservoirs, cisterns and conduits; among all the remains none are so impressive as these vast and intricate monuments from every stage of the history. They prove how insufficient for the needs of the population the few springs were found to be; and they, and not the springs, even when these waters were brought by conduits within the City, explain what several ancient writers have reported, that Jerusalem was a well-watered fortress within surroundings arid and waterless.

The Great Surface Tanks.

The first of these monuments which strike the eye of the visitor are the great tanks round and within the City. For number and size the like of them, all either now or once above ground, are to be seen in no other city of Palestine. 'It must be remembered,' writes Sir Charles Wilson,[2] 'that in time of war the water in all the collecting pools outside could be

[1] See above, p. 100 f. Guthe (Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 672) says: 'Either it is now sealed up, or is to be identified with Gihon or 'En-rogel.' The latter alternative is impossible on Nehemiah's data.

[2] In a letter to the author.

run into reservoirs within the walls: save that in the Birket es-Sulṭân, which could be run to waste down the valley.' The difficulty about them is that we are so little able to fix the dates of their construction.

We may begin with the Birket es-Sulṭân in the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, beneath the western city-wall and the road to Bethlehem, which crosses the Wady by the dam on the south of the Pool. This 'Pool of the Sultân' is 555 feet N. to S. by 220 E. to W. (just over 169 metres by 67). The northern wall is ruined. Here the depth was some 36 feet (nearly 11 m.), but the bed declines, partly with the natural slope of the valley and partly by an excavation in the rock at the southern end, to a depth of over 42·5 feet (13 m.). The pool is named either from the fact that it is the 'great' or 'grand pool,'[1] or from its reconstruction by the Sultân Sŭleiman ibn Selim, in the middle of the 16th century. By the Crusaders it was called Germanus, after the Frank Knight who recovered the Bîr Eiyûb and is said to have built the Pool in 1176 A.D.[2] A Pool, however, may have existed here from an early Jewish period. Sir Charles Wilson writes: 'I think it is ancient, or that there was a pool in the same position to receive surplus water from the Low Level Aqueduct, which seems to be the oldest conduit bringing water from a distance.'[3]

1. The Sultân's Pool.

To the north-west of this, in the Wâdy el-Mês, the head of the W. er-Rabâbi, is the Birket Mâmilla. Lying from east to west, it is 292 feet (89 m.) long by 193 (almost 59 m.) broad, and 19·5 (6) m. deep.

2. The Pool Mamilla.

[1] Masterman.

[2] Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerus.* 415; *Regesta Regni Hieros.* 133, 143, 147.

[3] In a letter to the author. Cf. Benzinger, in *Baedeker*, 5th ed. 25, 103.

Its age and origin are unknown. It has been identified with *the upper pool* of the Book of Isaiah,[1] but for this it seems too far from the city walls ; and in all probability *the fuller's field* mentioned in connection with *the upper pool* lay in the Ḳidron valley.[2] Equally uncertain is the identification of the Mamilla Pool with the Serpent's Pool of Josephus.[3] Sir Charles Wilson, who judges this Pool to be also old,[4] supports the identification.[5] Others have suggested the Beth Memel of the Talmud.[6]

In the east wall of the Mamilla Pool is an outlet from which a conduit leads south-eastward by the Jaffa Gate[7] to a great Pool lying in the cross valley, between the West and South-west Hills, and known to-day as the Birket Ḥammâm el-Baṭraḳ, or Pool of the Patriarch's Bath. It is about 240 feet long from north to south, 144 broad, and from 19 to 24 feet deep (73 by 44 by 6 to 7½ metres). The porous rock of the bed has been levelled and covered with a cement of small stones and lime. The eastern wall, against which, as the lower side of the pool, the chief weight of the water rests, has been proved by Dr. Schick's observations to be especially massive.[8] There are some indications that the Pool may have formerly extended further to the north. Some 60 feet in this direction of it, a cement was

3. Pool of the Patriarch's Bath.

[1] vii. 3 ; xxxvi. 2 (2 Ki. xviii. 17).

[2] See above, p. 105.

[3] v. *B.J.* iii. 2 : Titus levelled 'all the place from Scopus to Herod's monuments which adjoin the Pool called that of the Serpents,' τῇ τῶν ὄφεων ἐπικαλουμένῃ κολυμβήθρᾳ.

[4] In a letter to the author.

[5] *Water Supply*, etc., 9.

[6] 'Erūbīn,' 51 b, 'Sanhedrin' 24 a ; cf. 'Bereshith Rabba,' li. : cited by Kuemmel, *Materialien z. Topogr. des alt. Jerus.* 152.

[7] Warren, *Recovery of Jerus.* 237.

[8] *Z.D.P.V.*, 1885, 270 ; 1891, 49 ; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1891, 276 f. with plan ; 1897, 107.

uncovered of the same character as that on the bottom of the Pool, and beyond it a massive wall, nearly 11 feet thick, in which the squared stones resemble some of apparently the most ancient in the Ḥaram wall. For these reasons a high antiquity has been ascribed to the Pool. It is tolerably certain that it is identical with the Amygdalon Pool or Pool of the Towers, mentioned by Josephus[1] as the scene of the labours of the Tenth Legion under Titus. As their occupation took place after Titus had captured the Second Wall, the latter apparently ran outside the Pool; but to this we shall return. By calling the pool Hezekiah's Pool, recent explorers have assigned it to his reign: *he made the pool and the conduit, and brought water within the City*.[2] They have even identified with it the *lower pool* of the Book of Isaiah in distinction from the *upper pool*, the Pool Mamilla.[3] But we have seen reason to place Hezekiah's Pool and Conduit in the Ḳidron Valley; and there is no evidence to carry back the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath to so remote a period.

In this north-western part of the City, outside the course of the First Wall, other tanks have been discovered by excavation, or are recorded in documents. To the east of the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath, or lower down the same branch valley south of the Muristan, lies an old tank about 130 feet from east to west, and 50 north and south (about 40 by 15 metres). To the north-east of it lies another, which is, at least, 130 feet north and south, by 15 east and west. In the twelfth century there appears to have been a large pool near the

4, 5, 6. Three other Tanks in Upper Tyropœon.

[1] v. *B.J.* xi. 4: κολυμβήθραν Ἀμύγδαλον, that is ברכת המגדלין. See *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 8.

[2] 2 Ki. xx. 20.

[3] Isai. vii. 3, xxxvi. 2, xxii. 9.

head of the Tyropœon valley. A charter of 1177 names it the Lacus Legerii;[1] and in ancient Arab title-deeds, the vicinity is called Ḥaret el-Birkeh, the 'Quarter of the Pool.'[2] No trace of it has been discovered. Sir Charles Wilson suggests that it fed the rock-hewn conduit on the East Hill, which 'may have been *the conduit of the upper pool*.'

North of the Temple Area, on the line of the subsidiary valley that in this quarter ran down to the Ḳidron, are other reservoirs. The so-called Twin-Pools, closely adjoining the north-west corner of Antonia, lie side by side. The longer, to the west, is 165 feet by 20 (just over 50 metres by 6), the shorter is 127 feet by 20 (nearly 39 metres by 6). They are fed by the conduit from the north, which has been traced to beyond the present wall, just opposite the west end of the knoll Ed-hemiye. They are covered by arches of unknown date, but M. Clermont-Ganneau identifies them with the Pool Strouthion, over against the middle of which Josephus says that the fifth legion, under Titus, raised a ramp against Antonia,[3] and thinks that they were roofed over during the period of Aelia Capitolina. Some have taken them to be the Twin Pools, which Eusebius, Jerome, and the Bordeaux Pilgrim identified with Bethesda.[4] Dr. Masterman thinks it probable that they did not exist until after the destruction of the City by Titus, 'for they are made inside the great moat of the fortress Antonia.'[5]

7. The Twin-Pools.

[1] Röhricht, *Reg. Regni Hieros.* No. 543 p. 144. But see *Z.D.P.V.* i. 96.
[2] Cl.-Ganneau (who was the first to point out the reference); Wilson, *Water Supply*, 8, 11.
[3] v. *B.J.* xi. 4: τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολυμβήθρας.
[4] *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 209 ff., 263 f. with plan.
[5] *Bibl. World*, 1905, 96.

East from these, and against the eastern wall of the City and the north side of the Ḥaram, lies the Birket Isra'il or Isra'in, the Pool of Israel: a large open reservoir, 360 feet from east to west, by 126 from north to south (about 110 metres by 38). It has long been dry and has filled up with rubbish, the present level of which is about 69 feet (21 metres) below that of the Ḥaram area. As in the case of the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath, the eastern wall, the lower courses of which form the continuation of the Ḥaram wall, is a massive dam some 46 feet (14 metres) in thickness. Two outlets gave passage to the waters into the Ḳidron valley. Sir Charles Warren, who explored the walls, describes the arrangements for the regulation of the outflow and the alterations upon the original structure.[1] The Pool has a double bottom, the lower of small stones in mortar, the upper of a hard cement. The masonry of the thick dam, like that adjoining in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram, appears to be from the Roman period, to which also Antonia belongs. Josephus does not seem even to allude to such a Pool, which would be strange if this existed at the time of the siege of Titus; and yet it is impossible to assign to it an origin subsequent to this, before the alterations on the original structure which Sir Charles Warren reports as Byzantine. Messrs. Socin and Benzinger do not hesitate to carry it back to the pre-exilic Jewish period.[2] It was identified by pilgrims with the Sheep-pool of John's Gospel,[3] and from the twelfth century

8. Pool of Israel.

[1] *Recovery of Jerus.* 163 ff.; *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 122 ff.; Masterman, *Bibl. World*, 1905, 94; Kuemmel, *Materialien z. alt. Topogr. Jerus.* 114 ff., 150 f.

[2] *Baedeker*, 5th ed., 25; also Kuemmel, *Materialien*, etc., 151.

[3] John v. 2, if indeed Sheep-pool be meant here.

with Bethesda, but, as Dr. Masterman observes, there is no evidence of arcades around it.

North of this, and on the west side of the Church of St. Anne, beneath vaults on which rest the remains of probably two Churches, is a pool cut out of the rock on at least two sides, 55 feet long and 12½ broad (almost 17 metres by 3.8), with another beside it.[1] No trace of a spring has been found or an aqueduct: the water, which gathers sometimes to the depth of 20 feet, is immediately drawn from the surface. There can be no doubt that we have here the twin pools which, from the time of Eusebius[2] at least till the end of the sixth century, were identified with the Pool of Bethesda; but from that to the pool actually intended by S. John is, as we shall find, a far cry indeed.[3]

9. Twin Pools at St. Anne's.

A little to the east of this, but outside the City wall, is the Birket Ḥammam Sitti Maryam, the Pool of the Bath of our Lady Mary; 93 feet by 75, and 13 deep (28.3, 23, and 4 metres). It is 'quite modern, and made in the rubbish':[4] yet old enough to have attracted to itself, besides its usual name, several others of equal value: Pool of the Tribes, Dragon-well, and Hezekiah's Cistern: a remarkable proof of how quickly absolutely false traditions spring up from this teeming soil.

10. Pool of the Virgin.

In his excavations upon Ophel, Dr. Guthe discovered on the back of the ridge two small tanks, one south-west of the Virgin's Spring, measuring about 66 feet by 10 (20 by 3 metres), and the other, lower down near Siloam, 50 feet by 16 (about

11, 12. Two Tanks on Ophel.

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1888, 117 ff.; *Z.D.P.V.* xi. 178 ff. [2] *Onom. Sacr.* βηθεσδα.
[3] See below, chapter on the Gospels. [4] Sir Charles Wilson in a letter.

15 by 4.9 metres).[1] It is natural that in this older and narrower part of the City, the tanks should be smaller than the others we have surveyed, which had larger areas to draw from, and probably belonged to a later age.

Of the real and reputed pools in the mouth of the Tyropœon valley and in the Ḳidron valley, I have written sufficiently above.[2] The Upper and Lower Pools of Siloam, the Birket Silwan and the Birket el-Ḥamrā, are the only two in existence on the surface to-day, and no doubt represent pools in the same position in the time of Hezekiah and earlier. But there were other pools in connection with the same water system or Shiloah: and probably, as we have seen, one near the Virgin's Spring itself. But the whole valley region here, on which rubbish has so deeply gathered, requires further excavation.

13, 14. Upper and Lower Pools of Siloam.

Besides all these open, or once open, reservoirs within or immediately round the City, two others have been discovered at some distance from the northern wall. One is in the Wâdy ej-Jôz, near the Nablus road,[3] where a pool still forms in winter. This 'is part of an old pool once connected with the water supply of the City.'[4] The other one lies in the neighbourhood, and is hewn entirely in the rock.[5]

15, 16. Two Pools to the North of the City.

Next to the open tanks of Jerusalem must be mentioned the equally remarkable series of reservoirs under the Temple Area. Of these some thirty-six or thirty-seven are known, and have been surveyed. Full lists and descriptions of them will be found

The Temple Cisterns.

[1] *Z.D.P.V.* v. 334 f.; see Tafel viii.
[2] Pages 97, 98, 105, 106.
[3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, 9 ff.
[4] Sir Charles Wilson in a letter to the author.
[5] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, 289.

in the under-mentioned works.[1] Here we may confine ourselves to their general characteristics and outstanding features. They may be distinguished into the smaller surface pits arched over, and probably not all originally cisterns; and the great deep basins hollowed out of the lower-lying *meleki* rock,[2] 30, 40, 50, and 60 feet deep (one of them, 'the Great Sea,' with a capacity of two million gallons) carefully cemented; their roofs of the harder upper *mizzeh* rock, occasionally supported by heavy piers of masonry; with channels of communication, passages for inspection, and conduits for draining the water at different levels.[3] Sir Charles Wilson has noted that none of these larger basins are found north of the Dome of the Rock.[4] Their enormous capacity was fed by the great aqueduct from Bethlehem. When they were full, one can understand how even a very large garrison could face a siege without fear of a famine of water, while their besiegers suffered in the waterless environs.

The Ḥammâm esh-Shefā.

Beneath the rest of the City there are some public reservoirs, one of which, the Ḥammâm esh-Shefā, was once perhaps a surface basin, whose walls, as the rubbish rose through various generations, were heightened yard by yard, and finally roofed over. 'There is no trace,' writes Sir Charles Wilson, 'of a pool or cistern in the Ḥammâm esh-Shefā shaft and gallery. There is only a small cemented basin in which the water collects. Most of the water is certainly derived from surface drainage, that is, water percolating through the

[1] *Recovery of Jerus.* 204 ff.; *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 217 ff., with plan, (Conder); *P.E.F.Q.*, 1880, with plans; Schick, *Stiftshütte u. Tempel*, 292 ff. (not seen); and a clear and detailed catalogue founded on the foregoing in Kuemmel's *Materialien*, etc., 153 ff.

[2] See above, p. 55. [3] *P.E.F. Mem.* 162, 165. [4] *Recovery of Jerus.* 17.

rubbish, but some may possibly be derived from a small spring in the valley.'[1] Other larger cisterns exist in Antonia, and to the east of the Church of the Sepulchre; and two were examined by Dr. Schick outside the Damascus Gate.[2]

Even more characteristic of Jerusalem than all these more or less public works, are the innumerable domestic cisterns. The modern excavator may be said to come upon them everywhere in the living rock, or in the rubbish of all possible ages. Upon Ophel, the site of the primitive City, Dr. Guthe uncovered a great number.[3] To the north of the City the Survey Plan is dotted with the name.[4] To-day virtually all the houses have cisterns, fed from the rain which falls on the vaulted roofs or trickles through their surroundings.[5] In the new town, to the north and north-west, no house of any size is built without one or more. A hotel-keeper in that quarter told me during the drought of 1901, that he had water stored sufficient for all his purposes for three years! The cisterns of Jerusalem are of various kinds. Four of these have been distinguished by Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren: the flagon or bottle-like cisterns, with a wide body in the soft *meleki* rock, but with narrow necks in the harder upper *mizzeh;* cavities hewn

Domestic Cisterns.

[1] In a letter to the author. But see above, p. 84.

[2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1890, 11 f., with plan.

[3] *Z.D.P.V.* v. 336, with Tafel viii.

[4] Cf. Schick's plan *P.E.F.Q.*, 1890, opposite p. 9, and Schick's Map of the nearer environs of the City, *Z.D.P.V.* See below, Bk. ii. ch. iii., on the City Lands. For cisterns on S.W. Hill see Schick, *Z.D.P.V.* viii. 42 ff.

[5] That in earlier times the roofs were not all, at least, of stone, is proved by the discovery during an excavation in the Tyropœon of one of the stone rollers commonly used in Palestine for keeping hard and close the clay-covered timber roofs. *P.E.F. Mem.* 182 f.

in the rock, of irregular form, with natural roofs and man-holes through them; shallower basins in the rock covered by vaulted masonry; and pits built in the rubbish.[1]

Significance of the Cisterns.

Dating as they do from all periods of the history—repeated, altered, and replacing each other on different levels of the gradually rising surface of the city—these innumerable cisterns, public and private, prove very distinctly that the people of Jerusalem have always depended for their water, *in the main*, upon the collection and storage of the rains and the surface percolations. Their springs, as we have seen, were and could only be few, hardly more than two or three in number. These sprang besides on the lowest step of the city's rapidly descending site, and were liable to be tainted, as the Virgin's Spring is to-day, with sewage from the town above them. Hence the dependence of the inhabitants upon the rain itself, and the carefulness with which they gathered its direct supplies.

Water Supplies at a Distance.

But even these, in addition to the springs, proved insufficient as the population increased, and water had to be introduced into the city from other sources. If we take a circle with a radius of ten miles (about sixteen kilometres) from Jerusalem as a centre, we find, besides many weak or inconstant springs, several that are both copious and steady. We may pass over such as the 'Ain el-Muhandis and the 'Ain el-Ḥôḍ on the east of, the 'Ain el-Mudawara and 'Ain es-Ṣûwân on the north of, the Mount of Olives, the 'Ain er-Rawâs due west of the city, the springs about Welej, the 'Ain Yalô and the 'Ain el-Ḥaniyeh by the railway in the Wâdy of the latter name—for these are

[1] *Recovery of Jerus.* 23.

all unsuitable either from their size or the level at which they stand. And in this western direction, there is no use crossing the Wâdy Ḳuloniyeh to the springs on its other side. The water of the springs at Liftâ, 'Ain Kârim and Bittîr is often carried into Jerusalem in skins on the backs of donkeys; but the springs themselves lie too low to be tapped by aqueducts to the City. Perhaps the most remarkable fountain in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is the 'Ain Fârah in the Wâdy of that name, about five and a half miles (nine kilometres) to the north-east of the City. Here a considerable stream of pure water bursts from the rocks; but the source is several hundred feet below the level of the City.[1] At ej-Jib, the Biblical Gibeon, there are eight springs, some of them large, and a great ancient reservoir. The place is only five and a half miles (or nine kilometres) from Jerusalem, but the difference of level—the village itself stands 2533 feet (772 metres) above the sea—does not seem to have been great enough, or the intervening difficulties were too great, for the construction of an aqueduct.

Possible Aqueduct from the North.

On this side of the City there remains the good spring at el-Bîreh, the ancient Be'eroth, eight and a half miles (nearly fourteen kilometres) north of the City, and 2820 feet (about 860 metres) above the sea. It has been supposed that an aqueduct once led from this into the north of Jerusalem. There are cuttings in the rock here and there along the ancient road between them; there is the old reservoir in the Wâdy ej-Jôz, and aqueducts have been traced upwards out of the City beyond the north wall. All this

[1] One is sorry to hear of buildings recently erected at this beautiful spring in the desert of Benjamin.

makes plausible the hypothesis of an aqueduct from el-Bîreh, or possibly, if the levels suit (but of this I am ignorant), one from ej-Jîb. Yet, as Sir Charles Wilson has pointed out to me,[1] 'some traces of a work of such magnitude would surely have been noticed before; one finds many cuttings like aqueducts'; and the reservoir in W. ej-Jôz and the underground aqueducts coming up under the north wall may have been only for the gathering and direction of the surface waters.

Springs in the Wâdies 'Artâs, Bîâr, and 'Arrûb.

From this uncertainty on the north of the City we turn to the two very certain and considerable aqueducts which reach it from the south; and first we consider the groups of springs which feed them. About six and a half miles (nearly eleven kilometres) south-west of Jerusalem, and nearly two miles from Bethlehem, lies the small Wâdy 'Arṭâs, distinguished by the three great reservoirs known as Solomon's Pools, 2616 feet (797 metres) above the sea. About these there spring five good sources of water: furthest west and close to the present Hebron road, the 'Ain Ṣaleḥ, known for the last three centuries as *the Sealed Fountain*,[2] near it an unnamed spring, in the lowest reservoir the 'Ain Farûjeh,[3] on the slope to the south-west the 'Ain 'Aṭân, and further east the 'Ain 'Arṭâs, by the village of the same name. A mile and a half south of the Pools, in the Wâdy el-Bîâr on the *old* Hebron road, is the 'Ain el-Maghârah, to the south-east of it high up the 'Ain Faghûr,[4] and a mile and a half further south, but in the same Wâdy, the 'Ain ed-Derej. Two miles further south or nearly twelve from Jerusalem, in the Wâdy 'Arrûb, there is another remarkable group of

[1] In a letter, 1903.
[2] Song of Sol. iv. 12.
[3] So Baedeker, 129.
[4] The Phagir of the Greek version of Josh. xv. 29.

springs, the Ras el-'Ain or Fountainhead, the 'Ain el 'Arrûb and others; with a reservoir, the Birket el-'Arrûb: all about 2740 feet (835 metres) above the sea. All of these clear, and most of them copious, springs, were in ancient times built in and connected by conduits with the two great aqueducts which we have now to consider, and which are known respectively as the Low and the High Level Aqueducts.

The Low Level Aqueduct has been wholly preserved, and after several alterations, ancient and recent, still carries water from Solomon's Pools to the Temple Area. But before we follow this aqueduct, it is necessary to speak of a later one which was formed from the springs in the Wâdy 'Arrûb in order to increase the supply for Solomon's Pools. Leaving the reservoir in the Wâdy 'Arrûb, this aqueduct runs south-east, and then east on the left bank of the Wâdy, turning at last north up the Wâdy Menje, and so across the Bik-'at Teḳua', and round the various hills and Wâdy banks to the north on countless curves, till at last it issues into the middle pool of the three called Solomon's.[1] This extraordinary channel covers the direct distance of a little over five miles (8.3 kilom.) in a winding course of something over twenty-five miles (over 40 kilom.). The fall is approximately from 2740 feet in the W. 'Arrûb to 2600 feet at the middle Solomon's Pool; 140 feet or nearly forty-three metres. Starting from the lowest Pool, the Low Level Aqueduct receives almost immediately, by a conduit, the water of the 'Ain 'Aṭân, and

The Low Level Aqueduct.

[1] This may be easily followed on the *large P.E.F. Map*, Sh. xxi., or on Schick and Benzinger's Map of the 'Weitere Umgebung von Jerusalem,' *Z.D.P.V.* xix. 1896.

proceeds down the bed of the Wâdy till it has passed 'Artâs. Then it bends northwards, and piercing the hill of Bethlehem by a tunnel encompasses in many a curve the hill on which Ṣûr Bâhir lies. Then passing through a second tunnel[1] on the west of Râs el Maḳâbir, it winds round the Jebul Deir Abû Ṭôr, and so along the right bank of the Wâdy er-Rabâbi to above the Sultan's Pool, where on arches[2] it crosses the Wâdy about the 2409 contour.[3] From this it bends south and runs round the South-west Hill for the most part in a rock-cut channel. The course is outside the ancient City wall till it has passed the south-west angle of this. At 147 feet east of the angle, 26 feet east of his Tower II., Dr. Bliss found that the smooth-faced masonry of the wall had been broken to effect the entrance of the aqueduct, and then repaired.[4] But before the conduit enters the ancient City, he discovered, running above and more or less parallel to it, an older aqueduct hewn wholly in the rock, which sharply bends into the ancient City immediately under Tower II.,[5] and continues north-east on a line previously unearthed by Sir Charles Warren,[6] to a great tower round which it curiously twists to avoid either the tower itself or the rock chambers over which this is built. Further on Sir Charles Warren 'found it to be crossed and used by the later Lower Level Aqueduct; the two follow parallel courses for a long distance.'[7] Dr. Bliss has lucidly stated

[1] Recently turned into a tank in connection with the new water-works.—Wilson, *Water Supply*, etc., 3, 9.

[2] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 23.

[3] On the Ordnance Survey Map; between the 732 and 735 metre contours on Kuemmel's Map.

[4] *Excav. at Jerus.* 24. [5] *Id.* 54. [6] *Ibid.* and *Recov. of Jerus.* 233.

[7] *Excav. at Jerus.* 56.

the different dates, from Solomon to Pontius Pilate, which the curious relations of this aqueduct to the tower and rock chambers suggest,[1] but no certain conclusion is possible on the data. The anterior puzzle remains, why the aqueduct was driven so far north as to encounter the Great Tower and the chambers. It touches the 2,429 contour line at Tower II., and returns to that after its excursion to, and singular embrace of, the Great Tower. Only this seems clear, that the aqueduct in question is an older line of the Low Level Aqueduct than that now in use. The Low Level Aqueduct, after bending round the Burj el-Kibrit about the 2,419 contour line,[2] passes north on the great scarp above the Tyropœon valley,[3] and finally crosses this by Wilson's Arch to the Temple enclosure, where it fed the great cisterns south of the Ṣakhra rock.

The High Level Aqueduct started from a reservoir at the 'Ain ed-Derej in the Wâdy el-Bîâr. By a long tunnel reached from the surface by many shafts, and by conduits from the other springs in the Wâdy, it reached the Wâdy in which the Pools lie on a level about 150 feet above that of the Low Level Aqueduct. Here it could receive the water of the 'Ain Ṣaleḥ. Running down the 'Arṭâs Wâdy to opposite 'Arṭâs, it turned north, passing Bethlehem about three-eighths of a mile to the west, to the Tomb of Rachel. Here it had to descend into and climb out of the valley. The passage of the water was effected in 'an inverted syphon of perforated limestone blocks, forming a stone tube fifteen inches in diameter.'[4]

The High Level Aqueduct.

[1] *Id.* 332.

[2] Between the 726 and 729 metre contours on Kuemmel's Map.

[3] See above, p. 35.

[4] Wilson, *Water Supply*, etc. : about 381 mm.

Over the hill Ṭanṭûr it proceeded to cross the plain Buḳei'a, where, however, its course is not certain.[1] How it entered the city we cannot tell. Possibly its water flowed into the Pool Mamilla (or round this) and by the conduit which enters the City north of the citadel and feeds the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath. Or its course may have been an ancient conduit discovered through the Russian property on the north-west of the City and entering the latter at Goliath's Castle. In either case it arrived upon a level from which it was possible for the water to reach both the North-west Hill and the gardens of Herod's Palace on the South-West Hill. Here were deep conduits bronze-fitted, and large enough to serve as refuges.[2]

Dates of the Two Aqueducts.

The dates of these two Aqueducts from Solomon's Pools to Jerusalem, and of the two conduits which fed them from the Wâdy el 'Arrûb and the W. el Bîâr respectively, have formed the subject of much discussion. It is doubtful if even approximate results can be reached. A few years ago Père Germer Durand discovered on one of the perforated blocks of the syphon in the High Level Aqueduct the letters 'cos I. Clement,' which is the name of Tineius Clemens, consul in 195 A.D. under the Emperor Severus;[3] and on other stones the names of several centurions have been carved. The aqueduct was accordingly assigned to the reign of Severus with 'considerable certainty.'[4] But these inscriptions may

[1] The *large P.E.F. Map*, Sh. xxi., traces it parallel to the highroad on the west.

[2] Josephus, v. *B.J.* iv. 4, ii. *B.J.* xvii. 9.

[3] *Revue Bibl.*, 1903, 106 ff.; Cl.-Ganneau, *Rec. d' archéologie Orientale*, iv. 206 ff. For other inscriptions recently found see *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, 75 ff.

[4] Schürer, *Gesch.* (3) 490 *n.* 146: further on in the same note the possibility that the names attest only the repair of the Aqueduct is admitted.

record not the construction but only the repair of the Aqueduct; a hypothesis which is rendered certain by the need of assuming the existence of the Aqueduct in Herod's time in order to feed the conduits in the gardens of his palace on the South-west Hill.[1] Roman engineers, it seems certain, used the inverted syphon, as well as the aqueduct raised on arches to bring water across valleys. But there is also evidence that the syphon was possible in Palestine at an earlier date, either under Herod or even before him.[2] Herod's reign may therefore be taken as the lower limit for the date of the construction of the High Level Aqueduct. As to the date of the Low Level Aqueduct, running into the Temple area, the lowest limit is the Procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. According to Josephus Pilate brought water to Jerusalem. By which aqueduct and to what exact destination is not noted; but, as he used the sacred money for the purpose (and even he would hardly have dared to do this for an aqueduct that did not directly supply the Temple) we may take it as probable that the Low Level Aqueduct is the one intended. The distance of 200 stadia (fifteen miles) which Josephus gives to it in one passage[3] is fairly suitable to the length of the Low Level Aqueduct, including its windings, from the Pools to the Temple, but rather much for the direct distance from its furthest supplies in the W. el 'Arrûb to Jerusalem. In another passage, if the reading be correct, he says it was 400 stadia.[4] But if Pilate's work relates to the Low Level Aqueduct between the Pools and the Temple, it can only have been a work of restoration; for there is evidence

[1] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 4, ii. *B.J.* xvii. 9.
[2] Wilson, *Water Supply*, 10 f. *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, 77.
[3] Jos. xviii. *Ant.* iii. 2.
[4] Jos. ii. *B.J.* ix. 4: the Lat. and Euseb. *Prep. Evang.* viii. 2, 122 read 300.

that the Aqueduct was the construction of Herod. Josephus says that Herod brought water at great expense to his fortress of Herodeion,[1] Jebel el-Fureidîs, south-west of Bethlehem, and this is apparently the Aqueduct traced by the Ordnance Survey from the Pools to the site in question.[2] But Dr. Schick states that the structure of this Herodian aqueduct is the same as that of the Low Level Aqueduct.[3] If this be correct Herod was the author of the latter,[4] and in that case probably of the older branch of it, uncovered by Dr. Bliss on the South-west Hill,[5] while the other and later one at that place may have been the work of Pilate.[6] The Talmud states that water was brought to the Temple from 'En Ethâm,[7] in which we may recognise the 'Ain 'Aṭan, whose waters, we have seen, feed the Low Level Aqueduct a little below the Pools.[8] The Low Level Aqueduct thus being in all probability the work of Herod (along with the two lower Pools, as we may presume), we may take the High Level Aqueduct, extant in his day, to be the work of an older generation: for it is very unlikely that Herod should have constructed both. Dr. Schick is of opinion that the structure of the High Level Aqueduct is the older.[9] Yet we are quite without evidence as to what earlier age than Herod's to attribute it. The remarkable fact is, that no record should have survived

[1] Jos. xv. *Ant.* ix. 4, 1 *B.J.* xxi. 10.

[2] *Large P.E.F. Map*, Sheets xvii. xxi.

[3] *Z.D.P.V.* i. 132 ff.

[4] So too Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* 686.

[5] See above, p. 126.

[6] But there have been at least three other restorations of the viaduct, by Mahmud ibn Kilawûn about 1300, by Sŭleiman the Magnificent about 1542, and in 1865.

[7] *Talm. Jer.* 'Yoma,' 31*a*; cf. 'Zebâhîm' 54*b*, and 'Pesâhîm' 109*b*.

[8] See above, p. 125.

[9] Compare also the very definite opinion of Socin and Benzinger in *Baedeker*, 5th ed. 129.

of the construction of so considerable a public work. The syphon upon it tempts one to put it in the Greek Period, and here the long reign of Hyrcanus I. (135-125), who had stores of money, enlarged his territory by conquests in all directions, and achieved some considerable water-works,[1] provides us with the possibility. Yet had Hyrcanus been the author, Josephus would surely have said so. The high priesthood of Simon, the son of Onias, with its great public works [2] is also tempting, but had the High Level Aqueduct been made by him or one of his predecessors we should surely have heard of its existence during the Maccabean campaigns in that quarter, or the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus VII. (135-4 B.C.). Of this only can we be sure, that there is no evidence in the Bible of either aqueduct as the work, or as extant in the days, of the pre-exilic Kings of Judah. Dr. Bliss's suggestion that the older branch of the Low Level Aqueduct on the South-west Hill may be perhaps the work of Solomon,[3] rests on conditions which we do not yet understand. The name 'Solomon's Pools,' of course, proves nothing; and even if the Mamilla Pool and its conduit into the City were extant in the days of Hezekiah,[4] they would not involve the existence of the High Level Aqueduct. Neither this nor the Low Level Aqueduct can be traced in time behind the reign of Herod the Great. It is very probable that the latter is his work: and the most likely date for the former is the previous century, when Timochares tells us that the whole town abounded in running water.[5]

[1] Jos. xiii. *Ant.* x.
[2] Ecclesiasticus l. 1 ff.
[3] *Excav. at Jerus.* 332.
[4] See above, p. 114 f.
[5] See above, p. 84.

The long study we have pursued is full of dark details, and we leave it baffled by many of the answers of which we have been in search. Yet it has its own prizes, and they are more precious than those of topographical certainty. We cannot have worked through this series of water-systems without a vivid imagination of the secular, ceaseless labours which produced them, or devoid of a profound sympathy with the hopes which their meagre results excited in the hearts of their authors.

Moral Results of this study.

In casting our imagination along the history of Jerusalem, we are apt to be content with recalling her walls, temples, palaces and markets, and with the endeavour to reconstruct from these alone the full picture of her interests and activities. But preliminary to war, worship, trade and every kind of art, woven through them all and—on those high and thirsty rocks—more constant than any, was the struggle for water. Nature lent but a grudging assistance. Nor if we go behind Herod and the construction, at his comparatively late date, of the great Aqueducts which we have just been following, are there any arches or other imperishable structures to bear witness that genius for architecture, imperial wealth, or the power which could command hordes of slaves ever atoned, as in other waterless cities, for the absence of physical resources. The work, outside the great aqueducts, was all done by the citizens under pressure of their daily needs, by petty kings hurriedly providing against sieges, by statesmen with limited revenues in a nation of small capacity for building. What thrift and storage of scanty supplies! The dykes of Holland, piled to keep the water out, tell no more eloquent tale of the labour of centuries, the piety and resolution of many

The ceaseless struggle for water.

generations, than does this story of what Jerusalem has done to keep the waters in—the rock cisterns of her early days; the desperate care to bring the springs within the walls out of reach of besiegers; the execution of tunnels and pools by men hardly apprenticed to the art of engineering; the struggle to keep pace with the rise of the City's levels above the sunken sources of the past; and finally, the long aqueducts and deep reservoirs of more numerous and civilised generations.

When all these labours, before the last, resulted in such moderate achievements, when the reservoirs and springs were liable to be exhausted by the failure of the rains, and the parched gardens scarcely relieved the barrenness of the landscape, do we wonder, that as the mirage of the desert appears to the parched traveller like pools and lakes, so the hopes of this thirsty people assumed the form of streams and rivers about their Holy City? It is only such a study as we have come through that can furnish us with full sympathy for these words of Psalmist and Prophet:

Effect on the hope of the people.

There is a River which gladdens the City of our God.[1] *And he brought me back to the door of the House; and lo, waters issued from under the threshold of the House eastward . . . and it was a river I could not pass through, for the waters were risen, waters to swim in, a river that could not be forded.*[2]

But there the LORD *will be with us in majesty, a place of broad rivers and streams; wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby. For the* LORD *is our Judge, the* LORD *is our lawgiver, the* LORD *is our King: He will save us.*[3]

[1] Ps. xlvi. 4. [2] Ezek. xlvii. 1, 5. [3] Is. xxxiii. 21 ff.

CHAPTER VI

ṢION, OPHEL AND 'THE CITY OF DAVID'

ONE of the two cardinal questions of the topography of Jerusalem stated in Chapter II. is that of the position of Ṣion, the Jebusite fortress which David captured, and which was called thereafter *The City of David*, or (more properly translated) *David's-Burgh*. To this question there are two possible answers. *First*, till a few years ago it was the general opinion, received by tradition from the time of Josephus, that the South-west Hill, the most massive and dominant of the heights of Jerusalem, was not only an integral part of the City from before the days of David, but contained also the citadel he captured from the Jebusites and remained the centre of political and military power under the kings of Judah. This traditional view is expressed in the present nomenclature of the South-west Hill. The Tomb of David is believed to lie there, and there is placed the site of the Palace of Solomon, from which a bridge or raised causeway across the central valley is supposed to have served for the passage of the king when he *went up* to the Temple. The southern gate of the present City opening on the Hill is called Bab en-Neby Daûd, 'Gate of the Prophet David,' or Bab Ṣahyun, 'Ṣion-Gate.' The Citadel-tower is known as 'David's Tower,'

Rival Sites—South-west and East Hills.

and the Hill, as a whole, is called by Christians 'Mount Ṣion.' *Second*, the opposite view is that Ṣion, and by consequence the 'City of David,' lay on the East Hill on the part called Ophel, just above the Virgin's Spring; that Mount Ṣion came to be the equivalent in the Old Testament of the Temple Mount; that the location of the 'City of David' by the present Jaffa gate was due to an error by Josephus, and that there is no trace of the name Ṣion being applied to the South-west Hill till we come some way down the line of Christian tradition. The supporters of this second view are divided as to when the South-west Hill was brought within the City; some think in Jebusite times, some by David, some by Solomon, some by the eighth-century kings, and some not till the Greek or Maccabean period. These subsidiary questions may be postponed till we reach their periods in the history. But the other, whether the South-west or the East Hill was the site of Ṣion and the 'City of David,' is so fundamental as to require a separate and preliminary treatment.

The Course of the following argument.

There is more than one way of conducting this important debate. We might follow the interesting course which it has taken in modern times from the date of Robinson, when the South-west Hill was generally accepted as Mount Ṣion, to the present day, when the most of the authorities, some of whom had previously taken the other view, place the original Ṣion upon Ophel. Or we might start, as so many of the controversialists on both sides do, with the description of Josephus, who was the first definitely to place the 'City of David' on the South-west Hill, and work back through the Maccabean and the Biblical data to the

earliest times. It seems to me that the more lucid and convincing method is to leave at first the evidence of Josephus alone, for, valuable as this is for his own day, he was not a trustworthy guide among the ancient conditions; and to start with the topographical and military arguments for the two sites, then to follow the Biblical evidence and that from the Books of the Maccabees, and by these earlier witnesses to test the statements of Josephus and the claims of ecclesiastical tradition.

1. The Arguments from Topography and Archæology.

We can have little doubt about two things: *first*, that the earliest settlers in this district would select the sides of the only valleys in which water was present in any quantity; that is, as we have seen, the Ḳidron, and, more doubtfully, the sheltered mouth of the valley running into it, the Tyropœon; and, *second*, that when it became necessary to fortify themselves, they would do so on one or other of the two promontories, which, except at their north ends, sink steeply, if not precipitously, into the gorges below them. Our choice clearly lies between the South-west and the East Hills. Although from a very early time dwellings may have been excavated on the eastern bank of the Ḳidron valley, the site of the present village of Silwân, where there are still cave-dwellings, the place is not suitable for fortification, and the dip of the strata makes it improbable that springs ever broke in the valley immediately below.[1]

Earliest Settlement on either the E. or the S.W. Hill.

[1] It is to be wished that excavations were made along this bank of the Ḳidron valley. Cf. Cl.-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* i. 305.

Those who support the claims of the South-west Hill as the site of Ṣion, placing this either on the northern edge of the Hill where the present citadel stands, or on the southern end,[1] rest their case, apart from tradition, on these grounds: the height of the hill above its flanking valleys, W. er-Rabâbi and el-Wâd, and the steepness of the slopes by which it rises from the latter; its dominance of the other hills of Jerusalem, and its fitness for fortification. But it is doubtful whether so broad and long a hill, without any outstanding eminence, would have been suitable for such a citadel as that of the Jebusites.[2] Sir Charles Wilson says: 'The western spur is broad-backed, and so far as the original form is known, there is no broken ground or conspicuous feature upon it that would be naturally selected as the site of a castle such as those usually erected for the protection of an ancient hill-town.'[3] Again, the South-west Hill is waterless and lies aloof from the ancient source or sources of water in the Ḳidron valley. Unless the earthquakes have closed or masked some former vent, there was no spring in el-Wâd or the Wâdy er-Rabâbi; and indeed the geology, as we have seen, renders very improbable the existence there, at any time, of a fountain. It is true that some towns in Palestine are planted at as great a distance from their springs as the South-west Hill is from the Ḳidron valley; but in no instance (I think) does this happen where a more, or equally, suitable site for the town lies nearer the spring, as is the case in Jerusalem. The tradition that Ṣion lay

The Claims of the South-west Hill.

[1] So Georg Gatt and Karl Mommert: for their works see below, p. 165.

[2] מְצֻדַת צִיּוֹן, *mĕṣudath Ṣion, stronghold* or *hill-fort of Sion.*

[3] Art. 'Zion' in Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 983.

on the site of the present citadel is associated with, and dependent on, the other, that the spring Giḥon lay in the head of the Wâdy er-Rabâbi; but we have seen that Giḥon is undoubtedly the same as the Virgin's Spring in the Ḳidron valley. Finally, no remains have been discovered on the South-west Hill which can be assigned with certainty to the pre-Israelite period. The rock cisterns are few compared with those in other parts of Jerusalem; the walls and aqueducts that have been traced may be referred to a later age; and this is also true of the rock cutting known as Maudslay's Ṣcarp, above the western slope. It is true that the Hill has not yet been thoroughly excavated; and the Great Tower with the rock-chambers beneath it, discovered by Dr. Bliss, forms a perplexing problem.[1] But so far as the archæological evidence at present goes it supports the other view. Consistent with this is the comparative absence of *débris* in the W. er-Rabâbi which we noted before, and which seems to indicate that the South-west Hill had not so remote a history as the East Hill.[2] Summing up, we may say that while there is no positive evidence for an early settlement on the South-west Hill, it is also improbable that the Jebusite citadel was built there.

Argument for the East Hill.

The East Hill is not so high as the South-west, which dominates it. But, as we have seen,[3] it is high and aloof enough to have been, in the conditions of ancient warfare, quite independent of the latter, and capable of being held by itself. That the position immediately above Giḥon is suitable for a fort has

[1] See above, p. 126.

[2] See above, p. 42. Of course there remains the possibility that the greater *débris* in the Ḳidron and Tyropœon was partly due to earthquakes.

[3] See above, p. 37 f.

been affirmed by several eminent military engineers.[1] But even the eyes of those who are not soldiers nor engineers may perceive the possibility of the Canaanite fort on that position. Down either side the ground falls abruptly to the Tyropœon and the Ḳidron. The position is nearly 200 feet above the bed of the Ḳidron, and the descent very steep, about 30°;[2] while it is 100 feet above the bed of el-Wâd. Southwards there is a steep slope to the point between the junction of the two valleys. The sole difficulty is to the north. Immediately above the Virgin's Spring (2087 feet, or 636 m. above sea level), there is a contour line on the Survey Map of Ophel of 2279 (695 m.), from which the rock gradually ascends to 2299 (701 m.), 2312 (704·5), and finally, at the foot of the Ḥaram Wall 2370 (722). Such an ascent is certainly not very suitable for carrying the northern wall of the fort. Dr. Guthe indeed claims to have discovered a trench or gully running across the hill immediately north of the Virgin's Spring.[3] But his data were drawn from only two shafts, and others familiar with the ground deny that any such trench exists.[4] Yet even with the surface as it stands at present Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren and other authorities in engin-

[1] Including Generals Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren.

[2] Warren, *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 368: and the natural surface of the rock, it must be remembered, is covered with *débris* from 10 to 50 feet in depth.

[3] *Z.D.P.V.* v. 166, 316. Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 668 f.: 'By two shafts it was then [1881] clearly determined that the original rock-bottom immediately north of the Virgin's Spring, opposite the upper part of the village Siloah, lies from 12 to 13 metres deeper than the adjoining height on the south, and 25 to 30 m. deeper than the neighbouring height on the north'; cf. *Id.* 675 lines 45 ff.

[4] *E.g.* Wilson and Warren. Kuemmel also has recently (*Materialien z. Topogr. des alt. Jerus.*, 1906, 82) expressed doubts of the existence of this gully.

eering, or the topography of the hill-forts of Palestine, believe that the Jebusite stronghold stood above Giḥon. In Giḥon, too, we have the only certain spring of the district. It is true that if their fort was built on the East Hill, the Jebusites could not include the Spring within its walls, nor be able to prevent its use by an enemy besieging them. Giḥon lies at the foot of a steep rock on which a wall could not run, except high above the Spring. But at least, even with primitive means of warfare, the besieged could seriously harass an enemy in his use of Giḥon; and we have the evidence of Warren's shaft to prove that, at a date certainly earlier than the construction of the Tunnel by Hezekiah, the garrison of the town on Ophel above the Spring made a passage to the latter through the rock, such as would secure to themselves the use of its waters during a time of siege. Moreover, the needs of times of peace must be taken into consideration. It is most probable that the earliest settlement was as near to the Ḳidron Spring or Springs as possible, that is upon Ophel; and that therefore, when a fort became necessary, it was built on the same hill, somewhere above Giḥon, rather than on a hill farther away.

Archæological Evidence.

We have now to ask whether any of the ancient remains, discovered on the ridge of Ophel, indicate the Jebusite period. Both the English surveyors and Dr. Guthe discovered lines of wall in various forms of masonry, rock-dwellings, cisterns, reservoirs, steps and scarped rocks. Of the seven kinds of masonry which Dr. Guthe distinguishes on the encompassing walls, he is inclined to ascribe the second class of 'ashlar with regular margins and bosses' to a period when the Israelites worked under Phœnician example, that is

from Solomon's time onward;[1] but his first class of 'regular blocks, but rough-hewn and without mortar,' which is met with everywhere on the east coasts of the Mediterranean, he assigns to an earlier period.[2] We have seen that Warren's shaft must be earlier than the eighth century, and that there is no objection to ascribing it to the Jebusites. Near this, just above Gihon, Dr. Guthe unearthed what is apparently the oldest relic, a bit of wall or tower with a thick layer of black cement, seemingly ancient, but whether Jebusite or not he wisely abstains from affirming.[3] Round cisterns he found only among those hewn in the rock:[4] such a shape of cistern is assigned by some to the Canaanites, but this also is uncertain. Of more significance are 'rock chambers, with doors and openings for light,' and the dwellings half cut in the rock and half built against it. Some of these, Dr. Guthe thinks,[5] go back to the earliest period. There can have been little building in stone before Solomon's time, or he would not have had to bring masons from Phœnicia, and no traces have been found of building in timber.[6] But even from the rock-dwellings it is precarious to infer a very early date; for the habit of living in houses half hewn in the rock and half built against it, continued in Greek times, as is proved from the mosaic under some of these hybrid constructions, and persists still in the village of Silwân. On the whole, then, while nothing has been found on Ophel which is indubitably Jebusite, many of the remains are possibly so, and certainly earlier than the eighth century; and there is not a little

[1] *Z.D.P.V.* v. 284, 287-289. [2] *Ib.* 286 f.
[3] See point E on Tafel viii. *Z.D.P.V.* v.; cf. 319 f.
[4] *Id.* 336. [5] *Id.* 341. [6] *Id.* 344 f.

which suggests the primitive practice of dwelling in caves.

Ophel sufficient for Jebusite town.

The probability of the position of the original fortress of Jerusalem, on the East Hill, having been shown from the topographical and archæological evidence, there remains, before we leave this department of our argument, the subsidiary question whether Ophel presents a large enough surface for the Jebusite town. It is a frequent contention on the part of those who support the claims of the South-west Hill that the ridge of Ophel is too small to have held the ancient City, that the size of the South-west Hill is more suitable for this, and that accordingly we ought to seek for the Jebusite stronghold on its more dominant height.[1] The force of this contention depends on what one conceives the size of Jerusalem under the Jebusites to have been. If one has large views of this, the contention will prevail. But the probability is that before David's time Jerusalem was but an ordinary hill-town. Now we happen, just recently, to have been furnished with some data as to the size of another important Canaanite city which, like Jerusalem, defied the attempts of Israel to take it before the period of the monarchy. In his report, in January 1905,[2] on his excavations at Gezer, Mr. R. A. S. Macalister gives some estimates of the length and date of the outmost of the city walls which he has laid bare: 'I estimate its total length,' he says, 'at about 4,500 feet, which is rather more than one-third of the length of the modern wall of Jerusalem.' 'After a careful study of the masonry of all the exposed parts' of the walls, and

[1] So Colonel Conder, art. 'Jerus.,' Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 591.
[2] *P.E.F.Q.* of that date.

of 'the associated antiquities,' he assigns the houses built over the ruined *inner* wall to the middle of the second millennium, 'every dateable object being contemporary with Amenhotep III.' But 'as it is inconceivable that a city of the importance of Gezer should have existed at any period without a wall, the ruin of the inner wall must have been synchronous with the erection of the outer wall, which superseded it.' Though repaired from time to time, this outer wall is 'fundamentally of the respectable antiquity of the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence,'[1] 'and lasted from about 1500 to 100 B.C.' If, then, Mr. Macalister's observations and reasoning be correct, we know the size of a royal Canaanite city, contemporary with the Jebusite Jerusalem, and, like the latter, holding itself from the Israelites till about 1000 B.C. Its walls measured approximately 4500 feet round (about 1372 metres). Now if we take Dr. Guthe's or Dr. Bliss's plans of Ophel, and measure from the scarp, at the lowest point of the East Hill, northwards along the line of discovered and inferred wall on the eastern edge of the ridge, to the 2329 feet contour (710 metres), where the level rises rapidly towards the Ḥaram wall, and thence 520 feet (about 159 metres) to the same level on the Tyropœon side of the ridge, and thence southward along the line of ascertained rocks and scarps, on the west of Ophel, to our starting-point, we get a circumference of approximately 4250 feet (about 1295 metres). This means a space for the Jebusite town, if it was confined to Ophel, not much less than the Canaanite Gezer, which, so far as we can discern from the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence, was at the time at least of equal political importance with Jerusalem, and

[1] *Circa* 1400 B.C.

from its more favourable position, both for agriculture and for trade and other communications with Egypt and Phœnicia, may well have held a larger and wealthier community.

2. The Biblical Evidence as to Ṣion.

To the topographical and archæological evidence stated above we may now add that of the Biblical history from the time of David onwards. It starts from the verse which records his capture of the Jebusite stronghold, and runs along the history of the two names which the verse assigns to the stronghold: *David took the stronghold of Ṣion* or *Ṣîyôn, the same is the City of David* or *David's-Burgh*;[1] and it includes the use of the name *The 'Ophel* as practically a doublet for Ṣiôn.

Meaning of the name Ṣion.

In the verse quoted the name is given (as throughout the Old Testament) without the definite article; that is, as already a proper name. This has not prevented the attempt to derive it from a Semitic root expressive of the character of the site to which it was originally attached. In early Christian literature it has been variously translated 'watch-tower,' 'peak,' 'dry place,' 'impassable,' and 'fixed' or 'ordained.'[2] The meaning 'dry' has been revived by Gesenius and Lagarde;[3] and that of 'ordained' or 'set

[1] 2 Sam. v. 7.

[2] So Jerome (*Liber Interpr. Hebr. Nom.*, see Lagarde *Onom. Sacr.* pp. 70-73, etc.): 'Sion, specula vel speculator sive scopulus,' 'vel mandatum vel inuium.' *Onomastica Vaticana*, see Lagarde, *id.* p. 204: Σιων σκοπευτήριον; p. 211: Σ. διψῶσα; p. 222: ἡ ἐντολὴ σκοπιᾶς.

[3] Ges. *Thes.* 1164; Lag. *Bildung Hebr. Nomin.* 84, as if צִיּוֹן were a contraction of צָהִיּוֹן from צהה; cf. Graetz's emendation of צִיּוֹן in Jer. xxx. 17 to צִיָּוֹן.

up' by Delitzsch.[1] Another derivation is from the root which appears in the Arabic Ṣan, 'to guard';[2] another compares the Mishnic Hebrew Ṣiyyûn, 'the act of making anything conspicuous by marking it.'[3] I think that a much more probable derivation may be reached through the Arabic equivalent for Ṣiōn: Ṣahyun or Ṣihyun.[4] In Boha-ed-Din's *Life of Saladin*[5] a castle near Laodicea in northern Syria is described, under the name Ṣehyun, as 'well-fortified on the edge of a hill.' Now the Arabic Lexicons give Ṣahweh as the 'highest part' or 'ridge of a mountain or hump or shoulder,' or even as 'a citadel or bastion.' That there was a second castle of the same name, also on a narrow ridge,[6] encourages the belief that in this Arabic form we may find the correct etymology of Ṣion or Siyōn; the termination -ōn being that which occurs in so many place-names. Ṣion would then mean 'protuberance,' or 'summit of a ridge,' and so 'fort' or 'citadel.' In itself such a meaning is most probable.

When Israel, in possession of the Jebusite citadel,

[1] *Psalmen*, 3rd ed. 170, as if from צִוָּה.

[2] Wetzstein, see Delitzsch, *Genesis*, 4th ed. p. 578.

[3] From this no doubt came the meaning 'tomb' (cf. Cruden's *Concordance*), for tombs were marked white.

[4] The present name for the Mount Sion of Christian tradition, the S.W. hill. Bab Ṣihyûn is, in Muḳaddasi, the present Bab en-Nabi Dāūd, and Kenisah Ṣihyun the name in Mas'ûdi for the Christian Church on the traditional Mount Ṣion; see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 203, 212-217. In the *P.E.F.Q.*, 1877, p. 21, Col. Conder points out that the name still exists in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, Wady Ṣahyun, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles S.W. from the Jaffa Gate, and quotes Isaac Chelo as describing Ṣion not *at* but *near* Jerusalem.

[5] Ch. 43, opening sentence, ed. Schultens, p. 82.

[6] Yaḳut, *Geogr. Lex.*, tells us that the Syrian castle was sometimes confused with the Jerusalem Ṣion.

changed its ancient name to that of their own king, its conqueror, they may have expected that the former, a foreign and obscure designation, would disappear behind a title so illustrious and, as it proved, so enduring as 'the City of David.' Instead of this, the name Ṣion, as if emancipated from the rock to which it had been confined, began to extend to the neighbourhood, and, advancing with the growth of Jerusalem, became more identified with her final extent and fame than that of David himself. The name of David appears to have remained on the limited area on which his people had placed it: Ṣion not only spread over the Temple Mount, the whole city and her population, but even followed the latter during their exile to Babylon. It is a remarkable story which we are now to trace. An epithet, originally so limited in application and apparently so concrete in meaning, gradually becomes synonymous with Jerusalem as a whole, is adopted as one of Israel's fondest names for the shrine of their religion, and is finally idealised as an expression of the most sacred aspects of their character as the people of God. Yet even across so wide a career there lie scattered proofs that the spot from which the name started was a narrow summit of the East Hill above Giḥon.

History of the Name.

In the history of Solomon's reign Ṣion, still equivalent to the 'City of David,' is described as distinct from the site of the Temple and as lying below it. According to 1 Kings viii. 1 ff. Solomon gathered the heads of the people to *bring up the Ark out of the City of David which is Ṣion* to the Temple. The other verb used in verse 6 of the conveyance of the Ark, after it had reached the Temple level, to the Holy Place,

Under Solomon.

viz., *brought in*, proves that the verb *brought up* in verses 1 and 4 is to be taken in its obvious sense and not (as some argue, who place the original Ṣion on the South-western Hill)[1] as if it merely meant *started out with* or *brought on its way*. To the writer of this passage Ṣion evidently lay *below* Solomon's Temple: that is, on the site on which topographical reasons have led us to place it, on the eastern ridge above Giḥon.[2]

In the 8th-Century Prophets.

The next appearances of the name are in the writings of the Eighth-Century Prophets, some two hundred and fifty years after David. Amos says: *Yahweh roars from Ṣion and utters his voice from Jerusalem*, and speaks of *those who are at ease in Ṣion and secure in the mount of Samaria*.[3] The former passage certainly includes in Ṣion the Temple as the residence and oracle of the God of Israel. Isaiah records a word of Yahweh: *I lay in Ṣion a foundation stone;* that is, the intimate spiritual relation between Himself and His people, on which He calls their faith to rest.[4] Micah mentions Ṣion as equivalent to the whole town of Jerusalem, and adds, as if it were distinct from this, *the Mount of the House* or Temple.[5] Both Micah and (probably) Isaiah speak of the City and her population as

[1] For example, Rückert, *Die Lage des Berges Sion*, p. 32.

[2] To the above passages may be added 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 ff., 1 Chron. xxi. 18 ff.; according to which David *went up* from his residence in the city of David to the threshing-floor of Araunah, subsequently the site of the Temple.

[3] Amos i. 2, vi. 1. The genuineness of both passages has been contested, but on insufficient grounds.

[4] Isaiah xxviii. 16: accepted as genuine by all critics. Other oracles mentioning Ṣion might be added to this one, for there is not much reason to doubt that they are Isaiah's own. But as they are not accepted as such by all critics, I refrain from using them here.

[5] Micah iii. 10, 12.

the *Daughter of Ṣion*.[1] Another form, *Mount Ṣion*, occurs in a number of oracles attributed to Isaiah, but assigned by many scholars to exilic or post-exilic times. I do not feel, however, that the reasons which the latter give against the authenticity of some of these passages are conclusive. Ch. viii. 18 appears to be genuine, in spite of Volz's and Cheyne's arguments to the contrary, and if so, affords evidence that the Temple Hill was called Mount Ṣion in Isaiah's time.[2]

How the name spread.

Thus it appears that the name Ṣion, which till Solomon's time at least had been confined to the Jebusite fort, had spread during the next two hundred and fifty years across the whole of Jerusalem. The reasons for this extension are obvious, even if we cannot define the successive stages of the process. Either the name followed the expansion of the population, and (as Micah iii. 12 seems to show) only subsequently to this included the site of the Temple; or more probably it first accompanied the Ark to the latter (as we might infer from Amos i. 2) and thence spread over the rest of the City. But we must not forget the possibility of a third alternative: that the name Ṣion had covered the whole of the East Hill from the earliest times. In any case it would be more natural for it to spread first across this, and only then over the rest of Jerusalem.

In the Seventh Century Jeremiah uses *Ṣion* as

[1] Micah i. 13; Isaiah i. 8. See below, p. 269.

[2] In Isaiah xxix. 8 and xxxi. 4, which are also probably genuine, *Mount Ṣion* may be even interpreted as covering the whole of the City. Other occurrences of the name in prophecies which till quite recently were generally regarded as Isaiah's own, are iv. 5, x. 12, xviii. 7. In x. 32 and xvi. 1 is found *Mount of the Daughter of Ṣion*.

equivalent to Jerusalem, City and Temple;[1] and the *Daughter of Ṣion* as the personified City and her population.[2] He does not give the name *Mount Ṣion*. Coming to writers of the Exile, we find that Ezekiel nowhere mentions Jerusalem or the Temple Mount by the name of Ṣion; a remarkable omission, as if this rigid theologian had purposely excluded from the holy precincts a title of Gentile origin. But in Lamentations, on the contrary, *Ṣion* and *the Daughter of Ṣion* are frequent designations not only of the City, ruined and desolate, and, as personified, *spreading forth her hands*,[3] but also of the community carried away captive.[4] Once there is mention of *Mount Ṣion*, the deserted site trodden by foxes.[5] As in Jeremiah so in the great prophet of the Exile, Isaiah xl.-lv., *Mount Ṣion* does not appear: but *Ṣion* is used both of the City,[6] as parallel to Jerusalem,[7] and of her exiled people,[8] who are also addressed as *the daughter of Ṣion*.[9]

In Jeremiah and Exilic Writers.

All these instances of the name in its various forms increase throughout the later literature (except in certain books presently to be noted). *Ṣion* is become the full equivalent of Jerusalem,[10] and the name is as closely attached to the Lord as to His people. Ṣion is Ṣion of the Holy One of Israel,[11] His Holy Mount,[12] and dwelling place;[13] the mother of the nation,[14] the nation herself;[15] the pure and holy nucleus of the nation.[16] To

In Post-Exilic Writers.

[1] Jer. iv. 6, viii. 19, xiv. 19, xxvi. 18; and probably also xxxi. 6.
[2] iv. 31, vi. 2, 23. [3] Lam. i. 4, 17, ii. 1, 6, v. 11., etc. [4] iv. 22.
[5] v. 18. [6] *e.g.* li. 11., lii. 7 f. [7] xl. 9, xli. 27, lii. 1.
[8] li. 16; cf. Zech. ii. 7. [9] lii. 2.
[10] Zech. i. 14, 17, viii. 3. Zephaniah iii. 16 (a late passage).
[11] Isa. lx. 14. [12] Joel ii. 1, cf. 15. [13] Joel iii. 17.
[14] Isa. lxvi. 8; Joel ii. 23. [15] Zeph. iii. 14, daughter of Ṣion = Israel.
[16] Isa. lix. 20.

Ṣion the Gentiles look, and from her goes forth the true religion.[1] The fuller name *Mount Ṣion* is sometimes employed as covering all Jerusalem;[2] and sometimes apparently in the narrower sense of the Temple Mount where Yahweh reigns.[3] Instances of such applications of the name in the Psalms are too numerous for citation. We meet them also in the Apocrypha, in which Mount Ṣion is the Temple Hill, but Ṣion the holy community, in contrast to Babylon.[4]

To this frequent reference to Ṣion in post-exilic literature, there is one remarkable line of exceptions. Just as Ezekiel does not use the name, so it is absent from Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. Except as the Jebusite designation of the citadel[5] which David took, the Chronicler does not mention Ṣion. To him the mountain of the Temple is Mount Moriah.[6] Even in passages describing the gathering of the people to sacrifice or to the cleansing or repair of the Temple, in which we might have expected the use of the name Mount Ṣion,[7] it is constantly avoided; and the worshippers are described as *coming to Jerusalem* or *going up to the house of the* LORD.[8] In Ezra the formula frequently used is *the house of God* or *of Yahweh which is in Jerusalem*;[9] and Nehemiah speaks of *Jerusalem* and the *courts of God's house*.[10] That the Chronicler, who knew of Ṣion as the name of the Jebusite fort, and who introduces the 'City of

Writers who refrain from the use of the name.

[1] Isa. ii. 3 (if indeed this be a post-exilic oracle, and not one, as is probable, from an earlier date), Micah iv. 2.

[2] 2 Kings xix. 31; Obad. 17, 21; Joel ii. 32(?).

[3] Isa. xxiv. 23; cf. xxvii. 13, the holy mount; Micah iv. 7.

[4] *e.g.* 2 Esdras ii. 40, 42 (Mt. Sion), iii. 2, 31, x. 20, 23, 39, 44, xiii. 35 (Mt. Sion), 36.

[5] 1 Chr. xi. 5; 2 Chr. v. 2.

[6] 2 Chr. iii. 1.

[7] *e.g.* 2 Chr. xx., xxiii. f., xxxiv.

[8] *e.g.* xxix. 20.

[9] i. 3, 5, iv. 24, etc.

[10] xiii. 7.

David,' 'Ophel and Moriah ; that Ezra and Nehemiah, who also give so many of the topographical names of Jerusalem, neglected by accident to call the Temple Mount Ṣion, appears incredible. Doubtless, like Ezekiel, they had some religious reason for refusing the name to so holy a place. Were it not for the frequent use of Ṣion in the Psalms, we would be tempted to say that Ṣion was exclusively a prophetic designation; which the priestly school of writers avoided.

One other witness to the use of the name in the Old Testament period, is the author of First Maccabees (about 100 B.C.). In this Book Mount Ṣion is always the Temple Mount[1] distinct both from the City of David and from the rest of Jerusalem. So in other parts of the Apocrypha.[2] Maccabean Period.

Neither in the Old Testament nor in the Apocrypha is there any passage which can be interpreted as applying the name Ṣion specially to the South-west Hill. The attempt to do so has indeed been made. Verses of the Psalms, which, according to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, place within the same couplet *Ṣion* and *Yahweh's Holy Hill*, have been interpreted as if they thereby designated *two different localities* ; viz., the South-west Hill and the Temple Hill. But this would imply that within ancient Jerusalem there were actually two sites of equal sacredness, an impossible conclusion. The only natural inference from the parallelism just quoted is that Ṣion and the Temple Hill were identical. 'Ṣion' never applied to the S.W. Hill.

[1] iv. 37, 60, v. 54, vi. 48, 62, vii. 33, x. 11, xiv. 27.

[2] 1 Esdras viii. 81 ; Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 10 (Sion=holy tabernacle) and (apparently) Judith, ix. 13.

3. History of the Name The 'Ophel.

The Biblical history of the name The 'Ophel so curiously supplements that of Ṣion, for which, indeed, it appears in certain writers to be the equivalent, that we must take it next, and before we deal with the name *City of David.* The meaning of the word is well-known. It signifies *lump* or *swelling*, and was applied in Hebrew to a mound, knoll or hill, in one case with a wall round it.[1] It is, therefore, exactly synonymous with Ṣion or Ṣahyûn, but unlike the latter, which is always used without the article as a proper name, the Old Testament writers always (except in two passages) talk of *The 'Ophel.* And everybody agrees that this was the name of part at least of the East Hill, south of the Temple, where, as we have seen, Ṣion stood.

The 'Ophel synonymous with Ṣion;

The 'Ophel does not certainly occur in pre-exilic writings,[2] though there is no other reason against its early origin, save that after the Exile, when it comes into use, it has still the definite article: that is, it is still an epithet and not a proper name. The Book of Nehemiah — probably not that part which is Nehemiah's own memoirs, but the work of the Chronicler[3] —gives the name as already familiar, and places it south of the Temple. The only other occurrences of the name

and a later substitute for it.

[1] 2 Ki. v. 24: *the 'Ophel* on which Elisha lived; Moabite stone, line 22, *the wall of the 'Ophel* in Daibon or Kirḥah (?).

[2] Of its two occurrences in prophecy, Isai. xxxii. 14, and Micah iv. 8, the former is not found in the LXX., and is probably a later insertion in the text, while the latter cannot be confidently assigned to Micah. In addition, it is to be noted that these are the only two passages in the O.T. in which the name is used in connection with Jerusalem, in the generic sense.

[3] Neh. iii. 26 f., xi. 21: see below, Bk. iii., the chapter on Ezra and Nehemiah.

in the Old Testament are in Chronicles,[1] where we are told that King Jotham *built much on the wall of the 'Ophel*, and that King Manasseh *compassed about the 'Ophel.* But we have seen that these are the very books whose author, or authors, avoid the name Ṣion except in the two cases in which it is used of the old Jebusite citadel. It cannot be by accident that it is in these books that The 'Ophel appears. The two names apply practically to the same site, and are almost exactly synonymous. Naturally, therefore, the following questions arise. Were *Ṣion* and *The 'Ophel* contemporary and alternative names for the part of the East Hill below the Temple? Or when the name Ṣion was removed from this locality and applied to the Temple Mount as a whole, did the name The 'Ophel succeed it in its narrower designation? If the former question be answered affirmatively, then we have an explanation of the appearance of The 'Ophel only in writings which avoid the use of Ṣion; if the latter, then we understand the confinement of the name The 'Ophel to the post-exilic literature. I am inclined to prefer the latter alternative.

The name reappears in Josephus as Ophlas, and The Ophlas, to the south of and adjoining the Temple. He seems indeed in one passage to limit it to the northern part of the ridge running down from the Temple to Siloam.[2] But his accounts of the Ophlas,

Ophlas in Josephus.

[1] 2 Chron. xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 14.

[2] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 2 describes the city wall which runs north from Siloam as bending east at 'Solomon's Pool,' the site of which is unknown (see above, p. 119), running on μέχρι χώρου τινός ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλας, and joining the east colonnade of the Temple. Cf. Schlatter, *Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. Paläst.* 211. The other passages in Josephus are v. *B.J.* vi. 1: John held the Temple and the parts adjoining for not a little way, τόν τε

and the whole south end of the East Hill are too general for a definite inference to be drawn from them. The name does not occur in the Apocrypha or the New Testament.

Both the names Ṣion and 'Ophel mean 'protuberance,' 'swelling,' 'mound,' or 'knoll,' and apply either to the whole of the East Hill south of the Temple, or to some part of it. In the latter case we must assume that anciently that ridge did not slope down from its summit on the Rock eṣ-Ṣakhra to Siloam so regularly as it does now, but bore upon it, between these limits, a considerable outcrop of the rock, like that on which Antonia stood to the north of eṣ-Ṣakhra. Such a 'swelling' on the ridge would give originally a fifth summit to the East Hill,[1] and provide us with a sufficient site for the Jebusite fort of Ṣion, without any need of what we have seen to be the very doubtful trench across the East Hill to the north of the Virgin's Spring.[2] And for the disappearance of such a 'swelling,' the original Ṣion or 'Ophel, we shall see that we can account by the measures which the Hasmoneans are said to have taken for the removal of the rock on which the Syrian citadel stood that had threatened the Temple.

Ṣion or The 'Ophel originally a Knoll on E. Hill above Giḥon.

4. History of the Name David's-Burgh or 'City of David.'

While the ancient Canaanite name *Ṣion* left the citadel

'Οφλᾶν καὶ τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα; and vi. *B.J.* vi. 3: the Romans set fire to the ἀρχεῖον, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὸν 'Οφλᾶν καλούμενον.

[1] See above, p. 33 f.

[2] See above, p. 139.

on the knoll above Gihon and spread first across the Temple Mount and then over Jerusalem as a whole, the Israelite title of *David's-Burgh* or *City of David* appears to have remained, confined to that fort, its complex of buildings, and probably the town which clustered about it. We are, therefore, able to discover, in the use of this title in Old Testament times, corroboration of the preceding evidence that the citadel lay south of the Temple on the East Hill.

Corroboration of preceding evidence.

David brought the Ark into the *City of David* and was buried there.[1] Solomon lodged there the daughter of Pharaoh, till he should have built *his palace and temple and the wall of Jerusalem round about*.[2] When the Temple was finished he *brought up* to it (as we have seen) the Ark from the City of David,[3] and was buried in the City of David,[4] as were also in the next centuries many of the kings of Judah.[5] Except in an oracle of Isaiah[6] (which, however, does not define its position, save in holding it distinct from Jerusalem as a whole),[7] the City of David is not mentioned in the prophets of the eighth century. We find it, however, in the Chronicler's account of that period, as distinct from the City at large,[8] but also as lying upon the East Hill above Gihon. For he tells us, as we have seen, that

The City of David in O.T. Writings.

[1] 2 Sam. vi. 12; 1 Kings ii. 10.

[2] 1 Kings iii. 1; xi. 27 also implies that David's-Burgh was a particular part of Jerusalem.

[3] 1 Kings viii. 1.

[4] xi. 43.

[5] 1 Kings xiv. 31, etc. Thenius (*Bücher der Könige*, ed. 2, p. 15) quotes Theodoret (4th cent.) as placing these graves near Siloam.

[6] xxii. 9.

[7] v. 10.

[8] 2 Chron. xxviii. 27, which states that Ahaz was buried in Jerusalem, but not in the sepulchres of the kings, which, we have just seen, lay in the City of David.

Hezekiah, in stopping the fountains outside the City so as to deprive the besiegers of water,[1] closed *the vent* or *issue* of the waters of the upper Gihon, and *brought them straight down* or *underneath, to the west of the City of David*.[2] This can refer only to the tunnel hewn under the East Hill from Gihon to the Pool of Siloam, and it places the City of David above the tunnel and between its two ends. The Chronicler adds that Manasseh built a wall on the west side of Gihon in the valley of the Kidron; that is, on the most natural site for such a wall, immediately above the fountain, and *compassed about the 'Ophel*.[3] After the Exile Nehemiah also places the City of David here, for he mentions the *stairs which go down from it* in close connection with Siloam,[4] and describes a procession as entering by the gate at Siloam, the Fountain Gate, and thence ascending these stairs towards the Temple.[5] Sir Charles Wilson does not write too strongly when he says:[6] 'The statements of Nehemiah, which place the stairs of the City of David, the palace of David and his tomb between the Pool of Shelah (Siloam) and the Temple, absolutely exclude the western spur as a possible site for the City of David.'

In the First Book of Maccabees David's-Burgh or 'the

[1] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3; cf. 2 Kings xx. 20; Ecclus. xlviii. 17.

[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 30: or *westwards, to the City of David*, the English versions do not give the exact meaning. In the *P.E.F. Quart. Statement* for 1877, 178 f., Colonel Conder admits that according to this verse the City of David was on Ophel: but he regards the name as transferable.

[3] *Id.* xxxiii. 14.

[4] Neh. iii. 15, 16. The latter verse adds the datum, *and unto the house of the Gibborim;* but these were David's mercenaries, and their quarters were either in the David's-Burgh or close to it.

[5] xii. 37.

[6] Article 'Zion' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

City of David'[1] still stands distinct from the Temple Mount, and both of them from the rest of Jerusalem. In 168 B.C. the forces of Antiochus Epiphanes, after sacking and burning Jerusalem, *fortified the City of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and it became unto them an Akra* or *citadel*.[2] A Syrian garrison was put into it, who, *storing arms and victuals, and gathering the spoils of Jerusalem, laid them up there. And it became a great trap, an ambush against the Sanctuary, and throughout an evil adversary to Israel*.[3] In 165, when Judas Maccabeus and his men went up to Mount Ṣion, they saw the Sanctuary lying desolate, and while they cleansed it they had to tell off certain of their number *to fight against those in the Akra*.[4] Again, in 164, as *those out of the Akra were confining Israel to the holy places*,[5] Judas laid siege to the Akra, making mounds to shoot from and engines of war.[6] About 161 Bacchides strengthened and re-victualled the Akra, and imprisoned in it certain Jewish hostages,[7] who were restored out of the Akra to Jonathan in 153, when he took up his residence in Jerusalem and re-fortified the Sanctuary.[8] About 146 Jonathan besieged the Akra,[9] but could not take it, and besought King Demetrius to withdraw the garrison, for they were fighting against Israel.[10] Demetrius promised

In First Maccabees.

[1] Ἡ πόλις Δαυείδ.

[2] Εἰς ἄκραν.

[3] 1 Macc. i. 33-36; cf. ii. 31, where either the word Ιερουσαλήμ is a gloss, or the words πόλει Δαυείδ have been added as a more exact description of the position of the garrison.

[4] *Id.* iv. 37-41.

[5] Οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἦσαν συγκλείοντες (for the Heb. סגר) τὸν Ισραὴλ κύκλῳ τῶν ἁγίων.

[6] *Id.* vi. 18 ff.; cf. 26: τὴν ἄκραν ἐν Ιερουσαλήμ.

[7] *Id.* ix. 52 f.

[8] *Id.* x. 7-11.

[9] *Id.* xi. 20-23.

[10] *Id.* xi. 41-53.

but broke his word. Jonathan tried to starve out the garrison by raising *a great mound between the Akra and the City so as to separate it from the City, that it might be by itself, alone, and men could neither buy nor sell.*[1] Some time after, the garrison, in want of victuals, sent an embassy to Tryphon to relieve them by way of the wilderness, but a snowstorm prevented him.[2] Continuing to starve, a number of them perished, and at last they surrendered to Simon[3] in 142 B.C. Simon occupied *the Temple-Hill that was by the citadel*,[4] and made it stronger than before. Although none of these passages define the exact site of the Akra, the most of them imply that it was a particular quarter of Jerusalem, distinct from both the Temple-Mount and the rest of the City, and that it lay close beside the former, a rival and a threatening fortress. But the first of the passages makes the Syrian Akra identical with the *City of David*, which, as we have seen, was still recognised in Nehemiah's time as lying immediately to the south of the Temple. The supposition is natural that in the time of the Maccabees the name remained where it lay from David's day to Nehemiah's. It is true that more than two and a half centuries separate Nehemiah from the year 168 B.C., and that the possibility must not be overlooked of the shifting of the name *City of David* from its Biblical position to some other spot, say, on the north of the Temple. But, with this possible reservation, we must hold that the Akra of the Maccabean period lay on the same spot as Nehemiah's City of David, that is, on the East Hill to the south of the separate Temple-Mount, or just above Gihon.

[1] *Id.* xii. 36. [2] *Id.* xiii. 21 f. [3] *Id.* 49-51.
[4] *Id.* 52 : τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν.

We are, then, confronted with the problem of its disappearance, for no eminence rises there now which could be separately fortified as a citadel, and menace the Temple. But a statement of Josephus, which supplements and concludes the history of the Akra under the Maccabees, comes to our assistance. He has thrice stated that the Jews after taking the Akra, and in order to avoid any further danger from it to the Temple, reduced, or even abolished, the mound on which it stood. In one passage of the *Wars* he says: 'Simon digged down' or 'rased the Akra';[1] but in another, that the 'Hasmoneans . . . having worked down the height of the Akra, made it lower than it was before, so that the Temple should dominate even it.'[2] In the *Antiquities* he goes into more detail; he says that Simon, anxious 'that the Akra should no more be a base from which the foe might storm or harass Jerusalem, thought it the best way to cut down also the hill on which the Akra stood, so that the Temple should be the higher. Having called the people to an assembly, he persuaded them to set themselves to the work, which cost them three whole years, night and day, before they reduced the hill to its base and made it a perfect level. Thereafter the Temple overtopped everything, both the Akra and the hill on which it stood being demolished.'[3] In these passages Josephus writes of what had disappeared two

The Syrian Akra in Josephus.

[1] Jos. I, *B.J.* ii. 2: *κατέσκαψε τὴν ἄκραν.*

[2] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 1: *οἱ Ἀσαμωναῖοι . . . τῆς ἄκρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος ἐποίησαν χθαμαλώτερον, ὡς ὑπερφαίνοιτο καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ ἱερόν.*

[3] Abridged from xiii. *Ant.* vi. 7: the words, 'thereafter the Temple overtopped all the' other buildings or places are consistent only with the view that the City was then confined to the East Hill.

centuries before his own day. He implies that the Akra had dominated the Temple; but this it cannot have done if, as First Maccabees states, it was on the site of the City of David.[1] Also, his ascription of its demolition to Simon is not compatible with the statement of First Maccabees, that Simon garrisoned and fortified the Akra.[2] In his second passage he attributes the demolition to the Hasmoneans; and the suggestion has been made that the work, whatever its extent may have been, was due to Hyrcanus I., who built another castle, the Baris at the north-west corner of the sanctuary.[3] The erection of the Baris led to the demolition of the Syrian Akra. In any case, this disappeared, and the thrice-repeated statement of Josephus that part, at least, of the rock on which it stood was also removed, cannot be a pure invention. His closing remark, that the reduction of the Akra to a level left the Temple higher than everything, is hardly consistent with his other descriptions of the City.

Conclusions from foregoing.

We find, then, that the Biblical data and the testimony of the Apocrypha agree with the conclusions at which we arrived from the topographical and archæological evidence. The Jebusite stronghold of Ṣion, afterwards called David's-Burgh, lay on the East Hill above Giḥon, the present Virgin's Spring;

[1] On the Akra in Pseudo-Aristeas see below, Bk. iii. Sir Charles Watson (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1906, 50 ff.) places the Akra = Ṣion within the Ḥaram area, above 'the Great Sea,' partly because he thinks it lay N. of 'the City of David'; but as we have seen above, Ṣion = 'City of David.'

[2] 1 Macc. xiv. 37.

[3] Wellhausen, *Israelit. u. Jüd. Gesch.* 227; Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 684; cf. Schürer, *Gesch.* 247 *n.* 14.

and probably on a more or less isolated rock, a 'swelling' or mound into which the ridge originally rose, but which was removed under the Hasmoneans. There is no trace in the Old Testament, let me repeat, of the application of the name Ṣion to the South-west Hill in distinction from the rest of Jerusalem, any more than there is a trace of the name Ophel ever having been attached to that Hill. Nor is there any evidence of the South-west Hill ever having been regarded in Old Testament times as sacred.[1] We have also, by the way, found that there is no compulsion to seek a larger area for the primitive Jerusalem than the East Hill offers south of the Temple. But this subsidiary question will have to be re-opened when we come to the relevant point in the history.

5. The Tradition, from Josephus onwards, that the 'City of David' lay on the South-west Hill.

With Josephus, however, there started another tradition, which placed the 'City of David' on the South-west Hill. Adopted by the Christian Church, which, from the fourth century, called this Hill Mount Ṣion, the tradition was, till a few years ago, universally accepted, and is still held by some experts in the topography of Jerusalem. Like some of the Old Testament writers, Josephus nowhere uses the name Ṣion,

Josephus and the 'City of David.'

[1] It is not necessary to use Baron von Alten's argument (*Z.D.P.V.* ii. 29) in support of this. He quotes Ezekiel's description of the removal of the offended God of Israel from the Temple Hill to the Mount of Olives (xl. 23, xliii. 1 ff.), as if that proves that the South-west Hill had no special sacredness before Ezekiel's time; for he thinks that if it had been sacred Ezekiel would have named it, instead of the Mount of Olives, as the Deity's resting-place.

either for a part of Jerusalem or in its wider Biblical meaning, but he places David's-Burgh on the South-west Hill. 'The City,' he says,[1] 'was built over two hills divided by a middle valley. Of the hills, that which held the Upper City was much the higher, and in length the more straight.[2] On account, therefore, of its strength it was called by King David the Fort,[3] but by us the Upper Agora.' This is also his view of the topography in his account of the capture of the City by David ;[4] for he says, that after David 'took the lower City,' in his view the East Hill, 'the citadel held out still,' that is on the South-west Hill, till Joab took it. He adds that 'when David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also re-built Jerusalem and named it the City of David.' The contradictions of this with the Biblical account are obvious. In the latter there is no mention of an upper and a lower City; nor did David call the whole of Jerusalem, but only the Jebusite stronghold, the 'City of David.' It is evident that Josephus has read into those ancient times the conditions of his own, when there were a lower and an upper City on the two hills, and when the citadel built by Herod so completely dominated Jerusalem from the latter, that it was natural to suppose that the ancient stronghold had occupied the same site.[5] The Biblical tradition had lasted till the time of First Maccabees, 100 B.C. But between that date and the time of Josephus, over 150 years, there had happened the siege and capture of the City by Pompey,

[1] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 1. He adds the epithet *ἀντιπρόσωπος*. See above, p. 32 ff.

[2] Or 'level' (?) ; he means by this both the N.W. and S.W. Hills together.

[3] *Φρούριον*. It is significant that he does not call it Akra, conscious as he was of a citadel elsewhere.

[4] Jos. vii. *Ant.* iii. 1 f.

[5] *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2420, § by the present writer. Cf. von Alten, *Z.D.P.V.* ii. 20 f.

the siege, capture and great devastation by Sosius, and the very extensive rebuilding by Herod, which included the erection of Antonia, of the Temple, and of the great towers and fort on the west of the City. And before all these there had been the extensive building by Hyrcanus I. We have, therefore, more than sufficient to account for this transference by Josephus of the centre of power in Jerusalem from the East to the West Hill.

The Growth of the Christian tradition.

But if there was excuse for Josephus' contradiction of the Biblical statements about 'David's-Burgh,' there was even more for the Christians, who followed him in his error, and heaping change on change, as has been too often the case with geographical tradition in Palestine, removed the name Mount Sion from the Temple-Mount to the South-west Hill. Titus destroyed at least half the city.[1] According to Josephus, the whole was ruined except Herod's three towers and part of the west wall;[2] and other writers testify to a thorough devastation.[3] For sixty years the Temple area, Ophel, and other parts lay under *débris*, while the Tenth Legion held part of the Upper City as a fortified camp. Then came Hadrian's suppression of the revolt of 132. He destroyed most of what Titus had left, reducing Jerusalem to a waste,[4] forbidding it to its Jewish inhabitants, and colonising it with a different race.[5] The Temple-Mount was desecrated by the erection of a fane to Jupiter Capitolinus. The Legionary Camp remained to emphasise the supremacy of the South-

[1] Eusebius, *Demonstr. Evang.* vi. 18.
[2] Jos. vi. *B.J.* ix, 1, 4; vii. *B.J.* i. 1.
[3] Appian, *Syr.* 50.
[4] Just. Mart., *Apol.* 47.
[5] Eus., *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 6; *Theophania*, iv. 20; *Chron.* (in Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* xix. 557 f.).

west Hill, and on the same hill the Church cherished the site of the institution of the Lord's Supper and the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost.[1] In a land in which names have continually drifted from their original sites, all these events, aided by the example of Josephus, render explicable the transference of the name Mount Sion to the South-west Hill. The transference did not happen immediately. Origen takes the Temple Hill and Sion as identical,[2] and so, apparently, even Jerome in one passage.[3] But the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) and, in the *Onomasticon*, both Eusebius (c. 350) and Jerome (c. 400) place Sion on the Western Hill; and from them onwards this became the accepted opinion among Christians. As Sir Charles Wilson has pointed out,[4] its acceptance was probably facilitated by the building of the Church of the Resurrection on the West Hill. But the statements of Josephus, the lapse of time, the destructions and changed conditions, the ignorance of pilgrims new to the city, careless talk and fallacious reasoning, all contributed. Such a tradition slowly accumulates and is fed from a hundred trickling sources. We need not impute deliberate fraud. 'There was no falsification of tradition, but an adaptation of an ancient term to a new situation.'[5]

Modern supporters of the tradition.

For Christians, and afterwards for Mohammedans, the South-west Hill continued to be Mount Sion, and the citadel on it David's Tower down to the middle of the nineteenth century. These identifications were accepted by the first scientific geographers: Robinson, Ritter, Tobler, De Vogüé, and

[1] Cf. Wilson, *Golgotha*, etc., 146 ff.
[2] Ad Joannem, iv. 19 f.
[3] *Ad Esai.* xxii. 1 f.
[4] Smith's *D.B.* 2, 'Jerusalem,' 1651.
[5] Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1892, 17-38, 'Topogr. de Jérus.,' near the end.

others. They were also at first taken for granted by the excavators of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and by the late Dr. Schick. With various modifications, they are still defended by Colonel Conder,[1] Consul Merrill, Dr. Archibald Henderson, Dr. Stewart; and, more recently, with fresh argument against the defenders of the East Hill theory, by Herr Georg Gatt, Dr. Rückert,[2] and in greatest detail by Dr. Carl Mommert.[3]

6. The Return to the East Hill.

In 1856, Robinson, after his second journey to Palestine, and a fresh study of the topography of Jerusalem, wrote that 'amid the many diversities of opinion which have of late been advanced, it is gratifying to find a few points yet unassailed, and which in general are still admitted by most writers.' The first of these, he says, is, 'that Sion was the south-western hill of the city.'[4] But the previous year there had appeared a volume by the Rev. J. F. Thrupp,[5] in which the author questioned Robinson's topography, and maintained that the earlier or true Ṣion, equivalent to the 'City of David,' was the Temple Hill, that the old Jebusite fortress stood on the northern part of the Hill, and the Temple in the south part of the Ḥaram area. In

Earliest assailants of the S.W. Hill Tradition.

[1] Hastings' *D.B.*, 'Jerusalem.'

[2] Gatt, *Die Hügel von Jerusalem*, Freiburg i. B., 1897, 1 ff; *Sion in Jerusalem*, 1900, 34, 38 ff; *Z.D.P.V.* xxv.; Rückert, *Die Lage des Berges Sion*, Freiburg i. B., 1898.

[3] *Topographie des alten Jerusalems, Erster Theil; Sion u. Akra die Hügel der Altstadt*, n.d. (pref. dated Dec. 1900), with plan; *Z.D.P.V.* xxiv. 183 ff.

[4] *L.B.R.*, 1856, 206.

[5] *Antient Jerusalem*, by J. F. Thrupp, M.A., vicar of Barrington (late Fellow of Trin. Coll., Camb.). Cambridge, Macmillan, 1855. Cf. Röhricht, *Bibl. Geog. Pal.*, 447.

1861 Mr. Thomas Lewin published his *Jerusalem*, in which the claims of the East Hill were also advocated; and in 1864, the Rev. George Sandie,[1] after an independent examination of the sites and with fresh argument, showed that Ṣion was a separate part of the City, and lay on the East Hill, emphasised the presence of a ravine across the Hill to the north of the Temple area, and assigned the castle Ṣion or 'the City of David' to the site of Antonia. The same year Dr. Ch. Ed. Caspari identified Ṣion with Moriah, and placed the Syrian Akra on the Temple Hill;[2] and in 1871, Dr. Furrer presented a summary of the argument for the East Hill.[3]

Trend of recent opinion.

The earliest assailants of the traditional theory had to support their argument for the East Hill without the aid of the recent excavations, which have supplied so many new data in support of their main contention, and in correction of some of their subsidiary views. The most of them had placed Ṣion to the north of the Temple Area, but after the discoveries on Ophel by the English engineers and Dr. Guthe, and after a more thorough examination of the Biblical evidence, the case we have presented for

[1] *Horeb and Jerusalem*, by the Rev. George Sandie. Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1864. This little-known volume is well written, and is still interesting and instructive, anticipating many points that have been elaborated in the subsequent discussion, venturing also on conclusions that have received little or no support, such as that Giḥon lay in the central valley el-Wâd, and that the site of the Crucifixion was the north-west corner of the Temple Hill. He follows Fergusson as to the site of our Lord's grave. Fergusson's first work, *Essay on the Anc. Topogr. of Jer.*, appeared in 1847.

[2] *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1864, 309-328: 'Zion u. die Akra der Syrer:' cf. *Chronolog. Geogr. Einleitung in das Leben Jesu Christi*, 1869.

[3] Schenkel; *Bibel-lexikon*, 1871: art. 'Jerus.'; cf. *Theol. Liter. Zeitung*, 1907, 258.

the position of Ṣion to the south of the Temple has become increasingly strong. Credit must first be given for the use of the new materials to the Rev. W. F. Birch, who in 1878 began a numerous series of articles,[1] in which he argued independently on the Biblical and archæological data for the location of 'the City of David' on Ophel; to Baron von Alten, who in 1879[2] gave at length reasons, good or less good, for identifying Ṣion with the East Hill; and to Dr. Klaiber's two lucid articles in 1880-81.[3] They were followed in 1881 by Professors Stade and Robertson Smith,[4] and in 1883 by Professor Sayce.[5] Since then the opinion has come to prevail with the great majority both of the excavators of Jerusalem and of Old and New Testament scholars. It has been adopted by Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren,[6] who had previously taken the other view, although the latter from the first felt its incompatibility with the data of Nehemiah.[7] Professor Guthe adhered to it as early as 1882,[8] maintaining, as we have seen, the existence of a gully between the site of the fortress Ṣion and the Temple area, which, however, is not certain, and requires further investigation. In addition may be mentioned the names of the following authorities on the Old Testament or the topography of the City: Socin, Benzinger, Ryle, Driver, Buhl, Ryssel, Bliss, H. G. Mitchell, and practically also A. B. Davidson.[9]

[1] In the Pal. Expl. Fund Quarterly Statement. [2] *Z.D.P.V.* ii. 18 ff.

[3] *Id.* iii. 189 ff., iv. 18 ff.

[4] *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, i. 267 f.; *Encycl. Brit.*[9] xiii.: art. 'Jerusalem.'

[5] *P.E.F.Q.*

[6] Wilson in *City and Land*, 1892, 19 f., and other works; Warren in Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 386 f. [7] *Recovery of Jerus.* 289.

[8] *Z.D.P.V.* v. 7-204, 271-378: cf. *Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem*, Leipzig, 1883.

[9] Socin and Benzinger in Baedeker's *Palästina*, the latter also in *Hebr. Archäol.*, 1894; Ryle on Neh. iii. 15, in *Camb. Bible for Schools*, 1893;

The most notable of recent adherents to the support of the East Hill is the Dominican scholar, Père Joseph Lagrange, in an able and lucid article, of date 1892.[1] Till the appearance of this, Roman Catholic opinion had almost unanimously[2] adhered to the ecclesiastical tradition in favour of the South-west Hill. There is no one more familiar with the site of Jerusalem than Père Lagrange; his estimate of the Biblical evidence and that of Josephus is temperate and judicious; and his explanation of the transference of the name a natural one. That such a scholar should have been compelled, by a careful review of the evidence, to abandon the church tradition is as significant as that explorers like Sir Charles Warren, who also for so long accepted it, have made the same change.

Final Conclusions.

In forming a judgment on the question at issue, the reader will keep in mind that excavations have before now overturned conclusions as widely accepted as is to-day the position of the original Ṣion upon Ophel; and that a great deal of excavation still remains to be done in Jerusalem. Till then we must be content with holding many of the topographical questions in suspense. But for those now before us, both the Biblical and the topographical data are too strong for doubtful answers. The Biblical evidence indubitably identifies Mount Ṣion with the Temple-Mount, which, there

Ryssel in his ed. of Bertheau's Commentary on Nehemiah; Buhl, *Geogr. des Alt. Paläst.*, 1896, 132; Driver, Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 554; Bliss, *Excav. at Jerus.*, 1894-97, 287 ff.; H. G. Mitchell, *Journ. of Bibl. Liter.*, xxii., 1903, 101; A. B. Davidson, *The Exile and Restoration*, in T. and T. Clark's *Bible-Class Primers*. The list could easily be multiplied.

[1] *Revue Biblique*, i. 17-38: 'Topographie de Jérus.'

[2] Another Rom. Catholic, Riess, *Bibl. Geog.*, had adopted the E. Hill theory, but this has been abandoned in a new ed. of his *Atlas Scripturæ Sacræ*, 1906, by Rückert.

has never been any doubt, was on the East Hill; and almost as clearly places the 'City of David' below it. The topographical evidence from the present surface, and still more from excavations, tends wholly to the conclusion that this lower position lay to the south of the Temple upon Ophel, and with this the Biblical accounts agree. The position on the north, which the earlier advocates of the East Hill selected[1] does not suit the Biblical data; Antonia is not below but above the Temple level. It is true that further excavations in the choked valley bed beyond it might unmask an ancient spring, which could have served as the centre of the earliest settlement and the Jebusite town. But against this there is the fact that the Virgin's Fountain was already in David's time a sacred and therefore an ancient spring; and had then or shortly after a tunnel and shaft communicating with the surface of Ophel above it. Thus everything at present points to the Jebusite Ṣion, the Israelite David's-Burgh, having been situated there; while, as we have seen, its disappearance can be accounted for.[2] The data, whether Biblical or topographical, appear to me too clear for indecision on the main points. Subsidiary is the question whether Jerusalem in the Jebusite period was confined to the East Hill. We have seen that this confinement was possible;[3] whether it was actual either then or under the Kings are questions that will best be treated at the relevant points in the history.

[1] So even v. Alten, *Z.D.P.V.* i. 60 ff.
[2] Above, p. 159 ff.
[3] Above, p. 142 ff.

CHAPTER VII

THE VALLEY OF HINNOM

IN Chapter I., on the Site of the City, a detailed account has been given of the two encompassing valleys, the Wâdy Sitti Mariam and the W. er-Rabâbi, and of the dividing or central valley, el-Wâd. In Chapter II., on Facts and Questions in the Topography, it was pointed out, that no one doubts that the W. Sitti Mariam, the valley which runs down the east of the City, and separates it from the Mount of Olives, is the Ḳidron of Scripture and Josephus, or that el-Wâd is the Tyropœon of Josephus ; but that while the majority of experts in the topography of Jerusalem identify the lower part of the W. er-Rabâbi with the Biblical Valley of Hinnom or Gehenna, there are some who place the latter in the W. Sitti Mariam, and others in el-Wâd. It is to the discussion of this question, the location of the Valley of Hinnom, that we are to address ourselves in the present chapter. Interesting in itself because of the superstitious practices which, under Ahaz and Manasseh, found their scene in Hinnom, and because of the eschatology which later Judaism associated with the name Gehenna, the question of the position is also of very great importance in the topography of Jerusalem. On our

Topographical importance of the Valley.

answer, and especially on whether we place the Valley in el-Wâd or the W. er-Rabâbi, will depend our views as to the size of the City under the later kings of Judah; as to the line of her western and southern walls, and as to the position of such important points as the Valley-Gate, the Dung-Gate and the Dragon's Spring. If el-Wâd be the Valley of Hinnom, Jerusalem was confined, down to the Exile and for long after the Return, to the East Hill, and the western wall with the Valley-Gate and Dung-Gate upon it ran up the western slope of Ophel. But if the Wâdy er-Rabâbi be Hinnom, the South-west Hill was an integral part of Jerusalem under the kings, the western and southern walls ran round the edge of the Wâdy, and the two gates named must be sought for on the latter, above the lower stretch of the valley.

The Name Gê-ben-Hinnom.

The name of this sinister valley has also been the subject of discussion. It is never described in the Old Testament as a *naḥal*, a valley with a winter-brook, but always as a *gai'*, a valley without such a brook, for which we have no equivalent in English, but which, because as a rule it is smaller than the other, we may translate *hollow*,[1] *glen* or *ravine*. Of the name, there are various forms: Gê-ben-Hinnom,[2] *Hollow* or *Ravine of the Son of Hinnon;* Gê-bnê-Hinnom,[3] *Hollow of the Sons of Hinnom;* Gê-Hinnom;[4] and Hag-Gai

[1] This indeed may be the radical meaning of gai' גַּיְא, from גוה *to be hollow:* cf. Aram. גַּוָּא, *the inside.*

[2] Heb. text of Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Jer. xix. 2; and the Heb. and Gk. of Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 6, xxxii. 35.

[3] Kethibh of 2 Ki. xxiii. 10 (but the Keri and Gk. have *son*), and the Gk. (Cod. B) of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6, and Jer. xix. 2.

[4] Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16 (once each in Heb., twice in Gk.), and Neh. xi. 30 (omitted in Gk. Cod. B).

or *The Hollow*.[1] The last two of these occur only in late passages and are doubtless abbreviations of the first, which from its frequency is to be preferred to the second.[2] Whether Ben-Hinnom was the name of a man or of a deity it is impossible to say. The reading is too often confirmed in both the Hebrew and the Greek of the Old Testament[3] to leave room for emendation (Canon Cheyne has on religious grounds proposed Na'aman),[4] and the attempts to translate it as *wailing*,[5] in reference to the cries of the sacrificed children, are fanciful and have received little support. It must be admitted that no name corresponding to Hinnom, either human or divine, has been found in Hebrew or any other Semitic language;[6] and it is not impossible, therefore, that the term was originally geographical or botanical. It occurs only from the time of Ahaz (? or Manasseh[7]) to that of the Chronicler. In the Targums it appears not in a geographical but in a theological sense;[8] and in the same sense the gorge is described without being named in the Apocalyptic literature.[9] The Books of Maccabees and Josephus do not give the name, nor is it employed geographically in

[1] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9; Neh. ii. 13, 15, iii. 13; perhaps also Jer. ii. 23.

[2] The plural Bnê may have risen from assonance with the preceding Gê.

[3] Heb. always הִנֹּם ; Gk. Εννομ (most frequently), Οννομ, Ονομ, and in Josh, xviii. 16, Γαιεννα (B) and Γαι Οννομ (A).

[4] *Encyc. Bibl.*, art. 'Hinnom, Valley of.'

[5] הִנֹּם, as if connected with Arab. *hanna* 'to sigh' or 'whimper': cf. Graf on Jer. vii. 31.

[6] Unless the Babylonian Ennam, cited by Hommel (*Altisrael. Überlieferung*, 142, referred to by Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 669), is the same.

[7] See below. It has been proposed as an emendation to the *Valley of Vision* in Isa. xxii. 1, 5.

[8] On Psalm cxl. 11: גֵּיהִנֹּם.

[9] R. H. Charles, Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, art. 'Gehenna.'

the Talmud, except perhaps to designate a valley of hot springs east of Jordan.[1] Apparently it had ceased to be used of the gorge at Jerusalem after 300 B.C.

The Hollow of Hinnom has been placed by different authorities in each of the three valleys of Jerusalem: the eastern Ḳidron or Wâdy Sitti Mariam, the central Tyropœon, el-Wâd, and the southern (and western) Wâdy er-Rabâbi; while some have sought to unite these views, so far as Topheth is concerned, by placing the latter on the open junction of the three valleys below Siloam.

1. In the *Onomasticon* Eusebius and Jerome place Γαιεννουμ or Gehennom under the eastern wall of Jerusalem; the Moslem geographers Muḳaddasi and Nâsir-i-Khusrau call the Ḳidron-valley Wâdy Jahannum; the Jewish commentator, Kimchi,[2] identifies the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom; and on Fuller's Map in his *Pisgah Sight of Palestine* the 'Vallis Ben-Hinnom' runs between the City and the Mount of Olives. Dean Stanley and Sir Charles Warren have revived this identification.[3] But their argument for it is defective in all the premises. The identification does not 'follow from Jeremiah xix. 11.' The gate Ḥarsith, which opened on Hinnom, does not mean East-gate. The identity of 'En-rogel with the Virgin's Fountain, on which Sir Charles Warren depends, is contradicted by the narrative of Solomon's coronation.[4] And the Mohammedan tradition, which he quotes, is not only balanced by another, for Idrisi places Jahannum in the W. er-

1. Location in Ḳidron inadmissible,

[1] Neubauer, *Geog. du Talmud*, 36 f.

[2] On Isa. lxvi. 24.

[3] Stanley, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, xiv.; Warren on 'Hinnom' in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible.*

[4] See above, p. 109.

Rabâbi ;[1] but the origin of it, as well as of the statement in Eusebius, may be easily accounted for—and in this way. When the Gê-ben-Hinnom, as a place-name, had disappeared from the surroundings of Jerusalem, the theological Gehinnom as a state of torment for apostate Jews could not remain in the air, but demanded a local habitation; and this was found for it, if one may judge from Isaiah lxvi. 24, somewhere near the Temple, and in all probability in the valley of the Ḳidron.[2] As we see from the story of Josiah's reforms, the bed of the Ḳidron was already a place for refuse and regarded as unclear. The offal of the Temple, according to the Old Testament and the Talmud,[3] was cast into it, and probably in part consumed by fire. In any case, we may see how the theological Gehinnom came to be located here; the more so, that according to the belief about it, the sufferings of its victims were to take place in sight of the righteous, of whose eternal habitations the Temple-courts were the natural symbol. But this location of the theological Gehinnom in the Ḳidron Valley (from which probably arose the modern name, Wâdy en-Nâr[4]), is no argument for placing there the actual Gê-ben-Hinnom. On the contrary, such a geographical identification is excluded by these two data of the Old

and due to the theological Gehenna being placed there.

[1] Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* i. 403; *Z.D.P.V.* viii. 127.

[2] So Kimchi on this passage: cf. the late identification of Ḳidron with the valley of Jehoshaphat, Joel iii. 12; note also Zech. xiv. 3 ff.

[3] Jer. xxxi. 40: *Jerus.* 'Nazir,' 57, 4; *Babyl.* 'Yoma,' 58, 2. Buhl's identification (p. 94) of the *'emek* of Jer. xxxi. 40 with the Gorge of the Son of Hinnom is on the ground of the name impossible. The *'emek* is the more open space of the Ḳidron-valley.

[4] In April 1904 I was informed that the Bedouin about Mar Saba sometimes carry the name Wâdy en-Nâr up the W. er-Rabâbi to the Jaffa-gate. Robinson was told the same, but I cannot find his reference to this.

Testament: that the Ḳidron is never called Gai but Naḥal, and that the gate which Nehemiah calls the Gate of the Gai lay not on the east of the City over Ḳidron, but on the west over either the Tyropœon or the W. er-Rabâbi.

2. The Gê-ben-Hinnom has been identified by the Rev. W. F. Birch,[1] Professors Robertson Smith[2] and Sayce,[3] and Dr. Schwartz[4] with the Tyropœon. This is not unsuitable to the place assigned to the Gai in the record of the boundary between Benjamin and Judah,[5] nor to the data provided by Nehemiah.[6] But it is only possible if the Tyropœon lay outside the City at the time of Manasseh, for human sacrifices never took place within the walls of a town. But, as we have seen, Siloam in the lower Tyropœon was within the City by the time of Hezekiah; and its reservoir, to which that monarch brought the waters of Giḥon by a conduit beneath Ophel, could have been of no use to the citizens in time of siege unless they also held the Western Hill.[7] Under Manasseh, therefore, the Tyropœon was well within the City and could not have been the scene of the sacrifice of children.

2. Not in the Tyropœon.

3. There remains the third of the valleys, the Wâdy er-Rabâbi. This suits the direction assigned to the Gê-ben-Hinnom on the border between Benjamin and Judah; and under the later monarchy, as at all other times, it lay outside the City walls. By far the greatest number of modern authorities accept

3. But in the W. er-Rabâbi.

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1882, 53 ff; 1889, 38; 1893, 330; 1898, 168, etc.
[2] *Enc. Brit.* (9) xiii. 'Jerusalem'; *Enc. Bibl.* 'Jerusalem,' § 24.
[3] *P.E.F.Q.* 1883, 213.
[4] *Das Heilige Land*, cited by Warren, Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 387.
[5] Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16.
[6] Which Robertson Smith, indeed, thinks a proof of the identification.
[7] See above, p. 38.

it as the Gai.[1] Sir Charles Wilson has suggested that the name Hinnom may have extended to the flat ground where all three valleys meet.[2] Here, in fact, it was placed by Jerome in his Commentary on Jeremiah:[3] among the gardens watered from Siloam, a place 'amoenus atque nemorosus, hodieque hortorum delicias praebet.' And mediæval writers argued that Topheth and Hinnom both meant pleasure, and supported the argument by an alleged antithesis between these names and the *Valley of Slaughter* in Jeremiah vii 32.[4] Hence Milton's 'pleasant valley of Hinnom.' But the junction of the three valleys is practically part of the Naḥal Ḳidron and too open to be designated a Gai. The designation fully suits the W. er-Rabâbi a little way up from its mouth, where the rocks are high and the passage narrow. Certainly the scenery is there more consonant to the gloomy superstition and its savage rites than are the gardens and groves watered from Siloam. On the ridge to the south lies the traditional Aceldama, the Field of Blood, and the rock around is honeycombed with graves. Melander argues that the traditional Aceldama was the site of Topheth.[5]

'The Gate of the Gai.'

Professor Robertson Smith argued for the identification of the Tyropœon with the Hollow of Hinnom on this ground, among others, that Nehemiah describes the Gate of the Gai or *Valley-Gate* to have been 1000 cubits from the Dung-Gate, which he implies lay close to the Fountain-Gate at the south-east angle of the City.[6] Now the Gate of the Gai used to be

[1] Quaresmius, Barclay, Robinson, Wilson, Socin, Buhl, Benzinger, etc.
[2] Smith's *Dict. of the Bible* (2nd ed.), 1373.
[3] On vii. 31 f.
[4] Quaresmius, lib. iv. cap. xviii.
[5] *Z.D.P.V.* xvii. 25 ff.
[6] Neh. ii. 13, iii. 14 f.

placed by those who supported the identification of the Gai with the W. er-Rabâbi[1] high up the latter at or near the present Jaffa Gate, an impossible distance from the Dung and Fountain gates, according to Nehemiah's data. It was reasonable therefore for Professor Robertson Smith to suppose that the Gate of the Gai lay up the Tyropœon, and that the latter was the Gai itself. But his hypothesis becomes unnecessary if we can prove, or indeed may only reasonably suppose, the existence of an ancient city-gate above some lower stretch of the Valley of Hinnom. In itself such a position for a gate is more than probable. On the theory (for which the evidence is irresistible) that Jerusalem of the Kings covered the South-west Hill, the western and southern city wall cannot possibly have run the whole way round from the present Jaffa Gate to Siloam without another gate somewhere between these points. The most natural position for such a gate is about the south-west corner. Near this, in 1894, Dr. Bliss began his celebrated excavations, which revealed a line of wall running south-east from the end of the Protestant Cemetery, and then, still on the edge of the Hill, eastward to the south-east corner of the ancient City. In this wall, just before it turns east, that is practically at the south-west corner, he laid bare an ancient gateway,[2] with four sills, one above the other, representing four different periods: and from these he traced north-east into the ancient City a line of street.[3] On the first reports of this Gate, Professor Guthe in 1895 identified it with the Gate of the Gai.[4] In the spring of 1901, with Dr.

[1] *E.g.* Robinson, *B.R.* i. 423; Schick, *Z.D.P.V.* viii. 272.

[2] The first to suggest a gate here was, I believe, Professor Stade, in 1888: *Gesch.* ii. 167.

[3] *Excav. at Jerus. 1894-97*, 16 ff. [4] *M.u.N.D.P.V.*, 1895.

Bliss's book before me, I twice carefully examined the course of the excavations, once under the guidance of Dr. Bliss himself, and, ignorant of Dr. Guthe's identification, came to the same conclusion. In 1901-2, Professor Mitchell of Boston, then in residence as head of the American Archæological School, also independently reached this identification.[1] These separate arrivals at the same point illustrate how probable a position this is for the Gate of the Gai. But the four sills of the gateway seem all to belong to the Christian era;[2] if Nehemiah's Gate of the Gai stood exactly here, none of its masonry has survived. Moreover, the distance to the south-east angle of the City, near which Nehemiah's Dung Gate opened, is still rather great for Nehemiah's datum of 1000 cubits between the gates. Dr Bliss's work has disclosed certain alternatives round the south-east corner nearer the Siloam end of the wall, and more in harmony with Nehemiah's statement of its distance from the latter. One of these is between his Towers III. and IV., but here he marks no sign of a gateway in either his higher or lower line of wall. Another alternative is between his Towers IV. and V., the proximity of which, as he says, favours the idea 'that they once flanked a gate midway between them, at a point where a drain coming from the north butts against the rubble foundation,' and where there are other signs of a gate.[3] No gate was here found by him, and he says the presence of a gate between the corners remains uncertain. Yet it is to be noted that to the north, on the eastern slope of the South-west Hill, he laid bare a line of paved street running north and

[1] *Journal of Bibl. Liter.*, 1903, 108 ff., with plan.
[2] See below, pp. 215 ff.
[3] *Excav. at Jerus.* 27.

south.[1] From its crossing certain terrace pavements, he gathers it was late, and he did not follow the line of it south to his walls; but we must remember the tendency of successive streets in Jerusalem to follow the same ancient lines, 'and a slight diversion of this street to the west would bring it to a point midway between Towers IV. and V.'[2] This point is distant from the gate opened by Dr. Bliss not far from the south-east corner, which may be Nehemiah's 'Dung Gate,' about 1280 feet, while the distance of the Gate at the South-west corner is nearly 1900 feet. Neither figure is near to the 1000 cubits, about 1600 feet, which Nehemiah gives presumably (but not necessarily) as the distance from the Gate of the Gai to the Dung Gate.[3] But in any case, it is clear that the Gate of the Gai must have opened over the Gai-ben-Hinnom somewhere near the south-west corner of the South-west Hill, where what has always been a main line of street through the City from north to south terminated; and where a pathway used by men and laden animals still passes down the brow of the hill, not far from the Gate unearthed by Dr. Bliss, into the W. er-Rabâbi, the bed of which is from 130 to 170 feet below the sills of the Gate. In the bed it meets a path up and down the valley, and another which climbs southwards the opposite hill. With such an approximate position for the Gate of the Gai, there is removed the last objection to identifying the Gai with the Wâdy er-Rabâbi.

We have now made it clear that, although Ṣion, or David's-Burgh, and the earliest city lay upon the East

[1] *Excav. at Jerus.* 78: part of this was previously uncovered by the Augustinians: cf *P.E.F.Q.*, 1894, 18.

[2] *Id.* 80.

[3] Neh. iii. 13.

Hill, Jerusalem extended under the Kings of Judah over the South-west Hill also; and found her limits, as we have assumed in previous chapters, on the edges of the two Hills of her site above the W. Sitti Mariam and the W. er-Rabâbi respectively. We are now therefore ready for the fourth of the great topographical questions we have to consider before we attack the details of the history; the exact course of the City Walls.

Conclusions as to the extent of the City.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM

HAVING now before us the extent of ancient Jerusalem within at least her eastern, southern, and western boundaries, we are able to state—even if we find it impossible wholly to answer—the questions connected with the City walls. The Facts and Questions. While the Jebusite fortress of Ṣion, afterwards called David's-Burgh, lay upon Ophel, and this part of the East Hill may also have held the rest of Jebusite Jerusalem;[1] the City of the Jewish Kings covered both the East and West Hills along with the Central Valley: or all between the Ḳidron on the east and the Valley of Hinnom on the west and south.[2] Above these 'impassable ravines,' Josephus tells us that a single line of wall sufficed for the defence of the City;[3] while from Nehemiah we learn many of the details of its course along the edge of them.[4] The natural direction for this single wall to take is so obvious that there has been virtual agreement as to its general course, especially since the excavations of Sir Charles Warren and Professor Guthe on the East Hill and of Mr. Maudslay and Dr. Bliss on the South-west Hill. In this quarter of the City

[1] See above, Chapter vi. [2] Chapter vii.

[3] Τρισὶ δ' ὠχυρωμένη τείχεσιν ἡ πόλις καθ' ἣν μὴ ταῖς ἀβάτοις φάραγξι κεκύκλωτο, ταύτῃ γὰρ εἷς ἦν περίβολος: v. *B. J.*, iv. 1.

[4] See below, pp. 195 ff.

the only uncertainties are: at what times the line of wall included, and at what times it excluded, the Pools of Siloam in the mouth of the Tyropœon valley; and whether a line of wall also ran up the western edge of Ophel. Much more difficult to determine is the course of the north wall or walls. On the north, as we have seen, the natural features are not so positive as are the ravines on the east, south and west of the City; both within and since our period, building, destruction and rebuilding have been much more frequent here than on the south; and it is not possible to conduct, as there, long continuous lines of excavation. Nehemiah indicates along the northern face of the City only a single line of wall, but we are told by the Chronicler of a *second wall* in pre-exilic times (built by Hezekiah),[1] which is now generally understood as a north wall enclosing a suburb of the earlier City in the only direction in which (as we have seen) the City, after it had occupied the South-west Hill, could expand into suburbs. But Josephus reports for his time no fewer than three northern walls. Of these the First Wall[2] was the inmost and most southerly, the earliest northern rampart of the City; before Hezekiah built out in front of it his second wall. Modern opinion is generally agreed as to the course of this First Wall: the natural line for it was the north edge of the South-west Hill above the ravine which runs from the present Jaffa Gate eastward into the Central Valley. The Second Wall of Josephus would then be Hezekiah's *second wall*, and if this be correct, it is the single northern

[1] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

[2] It must be kept in mind by the student that when describing the advance of Titus into the City, Josephus reverses the above order of the three walls, and that his Third, or Agrippa's wall, is then called by him the First.

line of wall described by Nehemiah. The course it followed is still one of the least understood and most hotly debated questions of the topography. Nehemiah's description implies that it ran from the north-east corner of the City, that is from the north of the Temple enclosure of his time (or somewhere to the south of the ravine that falls into the Ḳidron Valley, under the present Ḥaram area, north of the Golden Gate)[1] across the East Hill and the Central Valley to some uncertain point above Hinnom on the South-west Hill. Josephus describes it as starting from Antonia, on the north-west of the Temple enclosure, and following a curved line to the Gate Genath on the First Wall, somewhere near the north-western corner of the latter. The beginning and end are therefore more or less fixed points; but, for the reasons given above, the intervening course is, and at present cannot but be, much disputed. Though probable on one or other of two widely differing lines—one of which excludes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but the other, partly following the present north wall of the City, includes it—the course of the Second Wall is still unknown to us. The Third Wall of Josephus was built by Agrippa north of the Second, in order to cover a new suburb: all we certainly know of it is that it included Bezetha: the rest of its course is largely a matter of inference.

These are the main certainties and uncertainties of the subject before us. Minor questions must be separately discussed in the historical part of this volume, at the dates at which they arise. But it will be convenient to give in the present chapter a general statement of the data, topographic, archæological,

Course of the following inquiry.

[1] See above, pp. 33 f.

and literary, and the more certain conclusions which may be drawn from them. I propose to start from the present walls, define the kind of evidence on which we seek to identify the ancient walls, and summarise first the literary and then the archæological evidence.

1. The Present City Walls.

The Present Walls and their Predecessors back to Titus.

It will be most convenient to start with the present City walls and their predecessors back to the time of Titus, because it is the present City walls, complete and dominant as they are, which tend to govern the mind of the student, but which, nevertheless, except in so far as they follow the natural boundaries of the site, he must ignore in his quest of the ancient lines of fortification. The walls of Jerusalem, with their towers and gates, owe their present form (*circa* 1540) to the Sultân Suleiman[1] the Magnificent, the successor of Selim I. who, in 1517, brought Syria under the dominion of the Turks. The variety of their construction is no less apparent than that of the character of their course. On the east, and partly on the west, this follows the natural line of fortification above the encompassing valleys, and the mixed, and largely modern, masonry rests in many parts upon courses of an ancient date. The north wall also contains some lower courses of an ancient character still *in situ;* and with some exceptions, to be afterwards noted, coincides with an old line of wall within a great rock-hewn ditch, which entrenched it against the plateau to the north. But the present south wall follows no natural or intelligible

[1] An inscription on the Damascus Gate ascribes its rebuilding to Suleiman in the year 1537.

line of fortification. Leaving the edge of the W. er-Rabâbi just above the Pool of the Sulṭân, it strikes east across the middle of the back of the South-west Hill on an average rock-level of just over 2500 feet (762 m.) for 275 yards (251 m.). Descending a little to the Burj el-Kibrît, 2388 feet (728 m.), the wall turns thence north and north-east, on pretty much the same level, to a point from which it strikes nearly due east across the Tyropœon valley (traversing the rock-bed of this at about 2250 feet, 686 m.) to a point on Ophel 2326 feet (709 m.). Here it turns at a right angle north to the southern wall of the Ḥaram. There had never been a satisfactory explanation of the curious course of this south wall till Sir Charles Wilson, from a reasonable argument as to the position and size of the Legionary Camp on the South-west Hill (A.D. 70-132), suggested that the Wall follows the southern limit of that camp, and then crosses the Tyropœon on the line of Hadrian's city of Aelia.[1] This was also the southern line of the Crusaders' Jerusalem. But it excludes from the City the half of the South-west Hill, all Ophel and the lower Tyropœon, which were enclosed, as we have seen, by the First Wall of Josephus: the wall which Titus left ruined, and which was doubtless further destroyed by the commanders of the Legionary Camp and by Hadrian. Between Hadrian and the Crusaders the following changes took place in the south wall of the City. In the fourth century it still ran upon the south line of the Camp and Hadrian's City across the back of the South-west Hill.[2] But by the fifth century all the South-west Hill, now

[1] *Golgotha*, etc., 143 ff. These arguments as to the Camp and Hadrian's City, and their conclusions, should be studied by all who seek a clear view of the later topography.

[2] So the Bordeaux Pilgrim, 333 A.D.

called Mount Sion,[1] was again included within a wall, which, however, left Siloam outside as it crossed to Ophel;[2] and the Empress Eudocia, consort of Theodosius II., who resided in Jerusalem about 450 A.D., is said to have added walls which brought Siloam within the City.[3] These, which must have run down the edge of the South-west Hill to the mouth of the Tyropœon, across this and up the eastern edge of Ophel, remained probably till the capture of the City by the Persians under Chosroes II. 514 A.D., who effected much ruin of the public buildings, and doubtless of the walls as well. After this the south City-wall was again drawn upon the line of Hadrian's, along which it has remained to the present day.[4] It is interesting that the City thus owes its present southern shape, not to its ancient and native growth, but to the stamp of its Roman conquerors.

The City walls just described all rose outside of our period, or subsequent to the destruction by Titus. Their dates within the Christian era are marked by several signs: Byzantine, Crusading or Saracenic architecture and ornament, either on themselves, or on other buildings which their position may prove to be earlier than themselves; or the insertion in them of Roman inscriptions, evidently out of place;[5]

Their characteristics.

[1] See above, pp. 161 ff.

[2] The Epitome ascribed to Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, 430-450: *P.P.T.* vol. ii. p. 10: on the preferred reading, Siloam is said to be 'infra muros'; another reading, 'intra muros,' may be a later emendation to suit the change brought about by the Empress Eudocia's wall: cf. Bliss, *Excav. at Jerus.* 307, 318; Wilson, *Golgotha*, 147.

[3] Antoninus Martyr (560-570 A.D.), xxv.; cf. Theodosius (c. 530), xlvii.: *P.P.T.* vol. ii.

[4] Cf. Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 690, lines 15-22.

[5] As, for example, the presence of an inscription of Hadrian upside down

or their position above rubbish containing remains of the Christian era, or other similarly obvious proofs. All such walls must be put aside from our inquiry into the walls before and up to Titus, except (as I have said) in so far as they follow lines of fortification older than themselves, and contain the material of the latter still *in situ*.

2. Proofs of the Ancient Walls up to Titus, and their Limits.

The Marks of earlier Walls.

But where we find remains of walls on the natural lines of fortification or (which is much the same) on lines indicated by Josephus, and without any sign of the Christian era in or below them, we may examine these in the expectation of detecting in their structure or surroundings some further evidence that they belong to our period. We know the natural lines of fortification, and Josephus has traced along them, at least on the east, south and west of the City, the course of the walls which were standing in his day.[1] He also describes their structure. They rose from precipitous rocks. At intervals there were towers, with solid bases, built of huge blocks so carefully joined to each other as to appear one mass of stone.[2] We know also that it was the custom at the time to protect these bases by revetments (as engineers call them) of masonry, 'built at the angle of slope best calculated to resist the ram and projectiles, and to render escalade difficult,' and that opposite gates and the more assailable parts of the line, ditches, counterscarps and other outworks were cut in the rock.[3]

in the south wall of the Haram, *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 9; Schick, *Die Stiftshütte u. der Tempel z. Jerus.* 340 f.

[1] v. *B.J.* v. 1. [2] *Ibid.* 2-4.

[3] Wilson's summary of Philo of Byzantium (*circa* B.C. 150) in *Golgotha*, 122.

Tacitus, too, describes the walls of Jerusalem as carried round the two hills and ingeniously drawn with curves and re-entrant angles. They rose, he adds, on scarps which added greatly both to their height and that of the towers,[1] besides lifting the masonry beyond reach of rams and miners. He refers, of course, to the rocky slopes above the valleys where scarps were possible. On level ground the wall was built much broader, and was entrenched by a rock-cut ditch. Now where such features of fortification—thus reported either of Jerusalem herself in the Roman period or as usual at the time—are discovered to-day along any of the natural lines of wall described by Josephus, without recognisable remains of the Christian era about them, we may safely identify the remains as earlier than the siege by Titus. Position on one of the known ancient lines of wall, foundation upon the rock itself beneath the virgin soil, with scarps below where scarps were possible, and, where they were not, with extremely thick and solid masonry; the stones large, finely drafted and fitting exactly to each other, and with no appearance of being anything else than *in situ*—these are the marks which experienced excavators consider to be justifications for assigning a wall to the period before Titus.[2] Sometimes, indeed, there may be additional

[1] 'Sed urbem, arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles in immensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent. Extrema rupis abrupta, et turres ubi mons juvisset, in sexagenos pedes; inter devexa in centenos vicenosque attollebantur, mira specie, ac procul intuentibus pares.'—Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 11.

[2] Dr. Guthe (*Z.D.P.V.*, 1882, 273 ff.) suggests another sign for determining the ancient lines of wall. Quoting Strabo's report (see above, p. 16), that while the City had abundant supplies of water within its walls, the environs were waterless, he argues that the course of the ancient walls cannot have run far outside the region of frequent cisterns. But Strabo's words are rather

evidence in the presence of a layer of *débris* above these remains of wall and below the foundation of another and later wall; for, as Dr. Bliss has reasonably argued in the case of such a superimposed wall round the South-west Hill, the *débris* may represent the ruin and waste in this quarter during the long period between Titus and the fifth century, and in this case the lower wall is that which Titus overthrew. But we must remember that while the data we have quoted may suffice to prove an origin within our period for the remains of walls on the southern end of the City's site, where we know the ancient and natural lines, and where our knowledge of subsequent building is comparatively good, the same data are not so conclusive upon the North-west Hill, on which, along now unknown lines, a good deal of building and rebuilding was effected in the early Christian centuries, upon, it may have been, the same principles which characterise the ancient architecture. And this is part of the reason of the difficulty of identifying any remains of walls found on the North-west Hill with the Second Wall of Josephus.

As yet we have only discovered evidence sufficient to prove ancient remains as portions of the walls extant in the time of Josephus. The further attempt to assign their construction to some definite period or periods before his date is a much more difficult and, in great part, an impossible task. Mr. Dickie, an expert architect and the colleague

Difficulty of assigning them to definite Periods.

to be understood of the distribution of springs (compare passage of Dion Cassius quoted above on the same page); and, in fact, the large P.E.F. map, as well as Schick's and Benzinger's, show the remains of many ancient cisterns outside the City, especially on the northern plateau. The evidence from cisterns is therefore limited by Dr. Guthe himself to the steep southern flank of the City; yet, even here, it is in some cases uncertain owing to our defective knowledge of the rock surface, and in others superfluous.

of Dr. Bliss in the excavations on the South-west Hill and Ophel, has recently warned us against the use of a standard on which much reliance was once placed:[1] the style of the masonry and stone-dressing. His conclusions are, that whatever light may have been thrown on the subject by his investigations, 'it does not help us to define the date of a building by its dressing. On the contrary, it tends to encourage scepticism as to the possibility of fixing periods by any hard and fast rules of masonry alone. Each succeeding style has mingled with its predecessor from the time of its introduction. Boss and margin work may have been used in early Jewish times, but was undoubtedly used in later Jewish, Roman times, and afterwards. Comb-pick margin with pick-centred dressing was certainly used contemporarily with the boss and margin, and may have been used before. Quarry-pick dressing is universal. The delicate pick-centre and comb-picked margined dressing of the Haram area is certainly characteristic of one great building period, such as that of Herod might signify.'[2] And Sir Charles Wilson has pointed out how boss and margin work—the bosses left to weaken the force of the ram, the margins made to assist the exact fitting of the stones—prevails from the very earliest times down to the castles of the Crusades.[3] Thus stone-dressing and masonry become minor means of proof as to the dates of the walls, and can be used only

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1897, 61: 'Stone-Dressing in Jerusalem, Past and Present'; republished in Bliss and Dickie's *Excav. at Jerusalem*, 1894-97, 273 ff.

[2] Mr. Dickie adds that 'the plain-faced styles with comb-pick and chisel-pick dressings may have been introduced into Jerusalem in Roman times, and have been used since. The furrowed Crusading dressing seems alone to definitely date its origin, and its after-use is beyond doubt.'

[3] *Golgotha*, 124.

along with other lines of evidence; such as inscriptions Greek, Hebrew, or Phœnician; pottery; styles of architecture analogous to those of buildings in other parts of the country known to be archaic; and the literary or historical evidence that at certain periods certain lines of wall were built. But, unfortunately, no inscriptions have been found connected with any masonry in Jerusalem earlier than the Greek notice which stood on a fence in Herod's Temple to warn Gentiles from entering further;[1] the argument to dates from analogies of style is precarious; and we are left with the Phœnician marks on the lower courses of the east wall of the Haram;[2] with the pottery; and with the historical evidence that at certain dates the walls of Jerusalem ran on certain lines, were breached, ruined or restored, and that the reigns of certain kings were periods of fine and extensive building.

3. The Historical Evidence.

The first of these periods which we come to behind the time of Josephus is the Herodian; and upon the historical evidence, it is possible to identify as Herod's not a little masonry still extant in Jerusalem. The Herodian Period.

The solid basis of the so-called 'David's Tower' in the present citadel is certainly the platform from which Herod's Tower of Phasael arose.[3] The dimensions approximate to the round numbers which Josephus gives.[4] The stones

[1] See below, Bk. ii. ch. ix.

[2] *Recov. of Jerus.* 139, 142 ff.; *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 150 ff.

[3] Schick, *Z.D.P.V.* i. 226 ff., xi. 49; *P.E.F. Mem.* 8, 267 ff.; Socin and Benzinger in *Baedeker*, 81 f.; Wilson, *Golgotha*, 127 (and earlier works); Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 685, line 59. See Plate VI.

[4] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 3: he makes the Tower base a cube of 40 cubits (approximately 60 feet). The actual dimensions are 65·6 feet (20 m.) high;

with bosses and margins are cubes of just over four feet (1·25 m.), and are closely set to each other without mortar. The Greek influence which we should expect under Herod is 'very apparent . . . the beautifully-dressed and jointed stones of the sloping revetment are essentially Greek in character.'[1] But Herod's greatest work was the rebuilding of the Temple and its courts. Josephus says that he made the sacred area twice as large as before.[2] As the rock sloped downwards from all sides of the old Temple courts, this extension can only have been effected by the inclusion of the slopes within retaining walls, and the covering of them with rubbish or great substructures. It is generally agreed that the result was the present Ḥaram area, as far north as 'Solomon's Throne,' and parts of its surrounding walls. The south-west corner of the area lies over the bed of the Tyropœon valley, and Sir Charles Warren found that the portion of the wall which encloses it, or all between the Bâb el-Mughârib on the west wall and the Double Gate on the south, was not only of different construction from the walls on either side of it, but must have been built after the valley had been filled with rubbish to the height of 23 feet (7 m.) from the rock; for up to this level (which is that of the pavement under Robinson's arch and the foot of the pier of that arch) the wall is built with rough-faced stones not intended to be seen, and only the portion above has been made to resemble the other parts of the wall.[3] This masonry,

55·78 (17 m.) broad and 70·21 (21·40 m.) long. These numbers are taken from *Baedeker*.

[1] Wilson, *Golgotha*, 123.

[2] Jos. i. *B.J.* xxi. 1. He gives details of the building in xv. *Ant.* xi.

[3] *Recov. of Jerus.* 119 f., and especially 122 f.; cf. 325; *P.E.F. Mem.* 175; cf. Jos. v. *B.J.* v. 1, on the filling of the valleys; that of the Tyropœon he ascribes to the Hasmonæans, *id.* iv. 1.

THE NORTH-EAST TOWER OF THE CITADEL.
Called 'David's Tower' but really Herod's Tower, Phasael.

along with Robinson's Arch and the pavement below it, Sir Charles Warren ascribes to the Herodian age, and the ascription has been generally accepted. It is probable that the northern wall of the Ḥaram is not of the same period. There is no report of any work by Herod upon the City walls, but from his building of the great towers, we may infer that he not only repaired but in parts wholly rebuilt them; and that the strength of the fortifications which Titus found so formidable was largely due to him. Herod was an experienced builder of fortresses, and one cannot become familiar with the walls of those which he raised in other parts of the country, without feeling assured that no yard of the fortifications of Jerusalem was overlooked by his vigilance or neglected by his engineers.

From Herod back to Nehemiah, we meet with a series of reports of destructions both of the City and the Temple walls, and of their restorations, which, if we took them literally, might well fill us with despair of finding extant any considerable portion of the pre-Herodian or Biblical walls. These reports speak not only of breachings but of repeated 'overturnings,' 'pullings down,' and 'razings' of the walls 'round about'; and not merely of Jewish 'repairs' and 'heightenings,' but of complete 'rebuilding' or 'fortifying round about,' till behind these restorations, after such apparently thorough demolitions, the Jews were able to resist new sieges by large forces. But even if we give only a little credence to these strong statements, they are so frequent, that the walls which Nehemiah restored can have reached the days of Herod only in patchwork and after many partial divergences from their original lines. Here again, however, we must make a

Frequent destruction and rebuilding in the centuries behind Herod.

distinction between the wall on the South-west Hill and the walls on the north and the east of the City. Round the South-west Hill, as we have seen, far less rubbish has been shot than on those other lines; the assaults from the north were much more frequent, and there, therefore, the destruction of the walls must have been much more thorough. Probably the wall on the South-west Hill was often spared when the northern and eastern walls were ruined or even razed to the ground.

The List of these back to Nehemiah.

Behind Herod's time the first destruction we reach is that of 64 B.C. Though admitted to the City and obliged to take only the Temple Mount by storm, Pompey is said to have overturned the walls of the City, and Hyrcanus II. or Antipater got leave from Caesar to restore them.[1] Behind this there is the breaking down of the fortifications, that encompassed the City, by Antiochus VII. (Sidetes) after his siege in 134, and the rebuilding of the walls by John Hyrcanus.[2] Behind this are the destructions and rebuildings of the Maccabean period; the pulling down of the walls by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168;[3] the 'fortification' of the Temple Mount 'round about with high walls and strong towers' by Judas Maccabeus in 165,[4] so that he was able to withstand a siege by Antiochus VI. till the latter promised him favourable terms, but broke his word and 'pulled down the wall' of the sanctuary 'round about.'[5] In 153 Jonathan 'rebuilt the walls and Mount Sion round about';[6] and some seven years later heightened

[1] Jos. xiv. *Ant.* iv. 4, viii. 5; 1 *B.J.* vii. 1 ff., x. 3, τὰ τείχη . . . ἀνακτίσαι κατεστραμμένα. [2] Jos. xiii. *Ant.* viii. 3; 1 Macc. xvi. 23.
[3] 1 Macc. i. 31; καθεῖλεν τὰ τείχη. [4] *Id.* iv. 60; cf. vi. 26.
[5] *Id.* vi. 51-62 [6] *Id.* x. 10 f.

the walls and raised a great mound between the Akra and the City. When there fell down part of the 'wall of the winter-brook,' that is of the east wall above Ḳidron, he repaired that which is called Chaphenatha.'[1] Simon also heightened the walls of the City.[2] Behind the Maccabean period lie two more or less severe injuries to Jerusalem: by Artaxerxes Ochus about 350, when the City is said to have been sacked and the Temple burnt,[3] and by Ptolemy I. (Lagi) who is reported to have torn down or destroyed the City;[4] and there was at least one period of reconstruction under the high priest Simon, the son of Onias (*c.* 250), who by repairing and fortifying the Temple, making a reservoir and building a wall, *took thought for his people against the spoiler, and strengthened his City against siege.*[5]

These are all the destructions and rebuildings of the walls reported during the four centuries back from Herod to Nehemiah, with whom we again secure detailed data of the lines of the walls and their construction. These data are valid, not only for Nehemiah's time, but for the pre-exilic period, as will appear from the following reasons. What Nehemiah describes is not the building of new walls, but as his explicit statements declare, the restoration of the old walls, whose ruin had so stirred his pious heart. That with some few exceptions he carefully followed the old

Nehemiah's Restoration of the Pre-exilic Walls.

[1] 1 Macc. xii. 35-37. There seems to have been some manipulation of the text here. One would expect after the clause, 'part of the winter-brook wall fell down,' the simple statement that 'he repaired it'; but a later hand seems clumsily to have added 'that which is called Chaphenatha.' See above, pp. 33 f.

[2] *Id.* xiv. 37.

[3] Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, 1486; but see below, Bk. iii., under the Persians.

[4] Appian, *Syr.* 50.

[5] Ecclesiasticus l. 1-4 (Hebrew text).

lines, is further proved by his finding that the enclosed space was too large for the meagre population who had returned to the City from exile, as well as by the fact that so many of his landmarks can be identified as already extant in pre-exilic times. His discriminating diction reveals that while his restoration may here and there have been from the rock upwards, in large part it was but a *strengthening* or fortifying, a *healing* or a stopping, of the breaches in the old wall.[1] There are three passages in the Book of Nehemiah in which the course of the wall is defined or indicated, all of them, except for certain interpolations and corruptions of the text, from Nehemiah himself: ii. 13-15, Nehemiah's inspection of the walls; iii. 1-32, the account of the rebuilding; xii. 31-41, the account of the two processions at the Dedication.[2] From these passages we learn that the wall of Jerusalem, which Nebuchadrezzar destroyed and Nehemiah restored, followed on the west, south, and east the natural boundaries of the site above the Gê-ben-Hinnom and the Naḥal Ḳidron; and enclosed the north of the City on a line not so determinable across the two Hills and the Central Valley.

We may start our tour of this wall from the point at

[1] See below, Bk. iii., under Nehemiah.

[2] See for the text and criticism of these the Commentaries (Ryssel's edition of Bertheau, Ryle, and Bertholet), and also the valuable study by H. G. Mitchell, 'The Wall of Jerusalem according to the Book of Nehemiah' in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxii. 1903, pp. 85-163, with plan and numerous photographs. Dr. Mitchell offers reasons (88 ff.) for believing that the account of the rebuilding, iii. 1-32, did not form a part of Nehemiah's own story, and Dr. Torrey (see below, Bk. iii.) had previously argued on the same lines. But their reasons do not appear to me to be conclusive. The passage is accepted as substantially authentic by the commentators and analysts of the Book. Dr. Mitchell allows that it contains valuable material.

which Nehemiah began his inspection: the Gate of the Gaî or Gê-ben-Hinnom, the Valley Gate of our English versions.[1] We have seen that this gate opened in the City wall either at the south-west corner where Dr. Bliss discovered an ancient gateway, or somewhat further to the east.[2] From here the wall ran east on the southern edge of the South-west Hill, 1000 cubits, or about 1800 feet, to the Dung Gate.[3] Here, near the south-east corner, where he could see both their southern and eastern lines, Nehemiah *viewed the walls of Jerusalem*, and from this view-point he *crossed* or *went on to the Fountain Gate and the King's Pool*.[4] His language does not enable us to decide whether the Fountain Gate lay at the end of the South-west Hill, the south-east corner, that is south of the mouth of the Tyropœon Valley; or whether by *crossing* he means he crossed the latter and came to the Fountain Gate on its north side.[5] My own judgment is that his *crossing* or *passing on* has nothing to do with the mouth of the Tyropœon, on the north of which no gate has yet been verified, but refers to his passage from the point from which he took his view of the walls back to their south-east corner, at which Dr. Bliss unearthed an ancient gate, and that then, as he says,

The South Wall.

[1] Neh. ii. 13. [2] See above, pp. 177 ff.

[3] שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפֹּת (Neh. ii. 13, iii. 14, xii. 31) Gate of the Ashheaps; acc. to Robertson Smith (*Rel. of Sem.*, 357 n.; 377 n.) originally 'hearth,' from שפת: in which case it was possibly named after the neighbouring Topheth. In Neh. iii. 13 it is שַׁעַר הַשְּׁפָה, from which some have thought the name Tyropœon='cheesemaking,' is derived: as if שְׁפוֹת='curds' or 'cheese' had been substituted for אַשְׁפֹּת. It may originally have been 'Gate of the Topheth.'

[4] ii. 14.

[5] So Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* vii. 679, lines 24 f., Mitchell (*op. cit.* 116).

he came to the King's Pool, one or other of the two Pools of Siloam, intending to proceed inside the City walls; but finding the road there so blocked with ruin that *the beast under him had no place to pass*, he came out of the wall again and *went up by the Naḥal* or Ḳidron valley.[1]

In any case the wall turned north across the mouth of the Tyropœon below the two pools to the east edge of Ophel, up which it ran *past the sepulchres of David and the made Pool*[2] to the *House of The Gibbōrim*, the barrack of David's guards, in or close to David's-Burgh, which, as we have seen, lay above Giḥon, the Virgin's Spring. The next point mentioned on the wall is an *angle* or *turning*, after the wall had passed the *ascent of the arms* or *armoury*.[3] The configuration of the hill requires an angle in the wall above Giḥon, and here Dr. Guthe discovered ancient remains which indicate one.[4] Passing there the house of the High Priest, and those of other priests—an indication that it was

The East Wall.

[1] ii. 15. The King's Pool may be the same as the Pool of the Shelaḥ or that at the mouth of the tunnel. Guthe (*Z.D.P.V.* v. 357) takes it as the older pool, of which he thinks he discovered remains here, but as we have seen (above, p. 97), this is uncertain. Or it may have been the Birket el Ḥamrâ (above, p. 98); or if the Fountain Gate was on the north side of the Tyropœon valley, the Virgin's Spring as Robinson (*B. R.* i. 474) supposes, or more correctly the pool which, as we found, possibly existed once near that Spring. The existence of this pool would remove 'the serious objection' which Mitchell (p. 120) takes to Robinson's view.

[2] iii. 16. Positions quite uncertain. The tombs of David, as we have seen above, p. 94, are still to be found. There is probability in Clermont-Ganneau's suggestion that the great curve on the tunnel was made in order to avoid them. Guthe holds that the Made Pool was one of the reservoirs he found on Ophel (*Z.D.P.V.* v. 334 f.), but as Mitchell remarks, these appear too small. Schick (*id.* xiv. 54) places this pool on the east of the ridge above the tombs; see Plan.

[3] iii. 19: text uncertain; Mitchell (155) emends to *past the chamber of arms to the angle.*

[4] *Z.D.P.V.* v. 298.

approaching the Temple Mount[1]—the wall reached another angle[2] equally required by the configuration of the hill just south of the end of the remains discovered by Sir Charles Warren. Here three, if not four, prominent features are named: the *Water-Gate*, *Wall of the 'Ophel*, and one *tower that standeth out*, if not two.[3] The Water-Gate must have been so called because it opened on the path descending from the City to Gihon, and it probably stood not far from where the path by which water is still carried from the Virgin's Spring into Jerusalem approaches the top of Ophel. Close by, Sir Charles Warren found the remains of a great tower, which he identifies with *the tower that standeth out*.[4] Thrice is this phrase used in these verses, and it is doubtful whether the same tower is always meant by it, or whether two different projecting towers are intended. *The Wall of the 'Ophel* was probably the ancient wall which ran across the north end of the ridge and enclosed the earliest site of the City.[5] From here the East wall continued north *above the Horse-Gate*, which was connected with the palace,[6] and therefore stood near the south-east corner of the present Ḥaram area. From the Horse-Gate the wall ran past priests' houses in the more sacred precincts just opposite the Temple, and then past the houses of Temple servants and mer-

[1] iii. 20-23. [2] iii. 24. [3] iii. 25-27; xii. 37.
[4] *Recov. of Jerus.* 295. [5] See above, p. 143. Cf. Mitchell, 159 f.
[6] שַׁעַר הַסּוּסִים, iii. 28, cf. 2 Ki. xi. 16, 2 Chron. xxiii. 15, Jer. xxxi. 40.

The discriminating preposition *above* or *over* may mean either that the Horse-Gate was an entry in the lower courses of the wall leading to some substructions of the palace, or lay below the line of wall repaired by Nehemiah on an outer and older line. It can hardly imply *both* of these, as Mitchell suggests. But perhaps to make either of these inferences is to force the preposition, which may only imply that the Horse Gateway itself needed no repair, but only the wall which ran over it.

chants in the less sacred precincts to the north, and *over against the Gate of the Muster*,[1] to the *high chamber* or *turret of the corner*, apparently the north-east angle, and *the Sheep Gate*, also placed by Nehemiah on the north.[2] Now at this time the Temple area did not extend so far north as does the Ḥaram area, whose north-east corner lies over the ancient ravine tributary to the Ḳidron. The Temple precincts must have come to an end on the south of this ravine. We shall not be far wrong, therefore, if we place the north-east angle of Nehemiah's wall very little north of the present Golden Gate.

Nehemiah's North and West Wall.

From the Sheep Gate, close to the north-east corner of the City, the first twelve verses of Chapter iii., and (in the reverse direction) the route of the Second Procession, Chapter xii. 38 f. give us the course of the wall round the north and west of the City to our starting-point at the Gate of the Gaî. On the northern stretch of this route we find ourselves among the uncertainties spoken of in the beginning of the chapter, for we no longer follow the margin of the encompassing valleys, but strike across the East Hill, the Central Valley and the West Hill, where there are no such natural features to determine the line. If the north-east corner and the Sheep Gate lay, as we have seen probable, on the

[1] שַׁעַר הַמִּפְקָד, iii. 31 : cf. Ezek. xliii. 21, where Hammiphkadh seems to be a place just outside the Temple.

[2] שַׁעַר הַצֹּאן, Neh. iii. 1, 32, xii. 39. These are conclusive for its position on the north. K. Furrer in *Z.N.T.W.*, 1902, 260, sets the Sheep Gate on the west wall of the Sanctuary as a gate that led from the industrial quarter of the City, once a suburb, into the Temple area, near the present Bab el Kattânîn, but this is irreconcilable with Nehemiah's data, and the only reason for it appears to be the author's location of Bethesda in the Hammâm esh Shefâ, for which we have already seen there is no evidence.

northern slope of the Temple summit above the ravine into the Ḳidron, the most natural line for the wall to take westwards from them would either be over the *col* between the Temple summit and Antonia, or else round the rock on which the latter stands, and across the other *col* to the north.[1] The statement of Josephus that the Second Wall started from Antonia favours the second alternative. In that case the two *Towers*, *Hammeah* and *Ḥanane'-el*, the next features on Nehemiah's wall after the Sheep Gate, would stand on the rock on which Antonia stood, north-west from the Sheep Gate. This relative position suits the other Biblical references to them. In Zechariah xiv. 10, the north and south extent of the City is given from the *tower of Ḥanane'-el unto the king's wine-presses* (probably at Siloam); while the east and west extension is given as *from the gate of Benjamin*, probably identical with the Sheep Gate, *to the place of the First Gate*, near the north-west corner of the City; similarly in Jeremiah xxxi. 38, as *from the tower of Ḥanane'-el* to the *Gate of the Corner*, another name for the First Gate. From Hanane'-el the wall would dip and cross the Tyropœon, on the road down the bed of which we most naturally seek for the site of its next feature, *the Fish Gate*.[2] The references given below explain this name as due to the Tyrians, who sold dried fish, and found their nearest market or entrance to the City on the north;[3] and associate it with the *Mishneh* or *Second City*, most intelligible as the name of the northern suburb, and with the *Maktesh*, or *Mortar*, a term which

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] שַׁעַר הַדָּגִים: Neh. iii. 3, xii. 39, Zeph. i. 10, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14; cf. for the name, Nehemiah xiii. 16.

[3] See below, Bk. ii. ch. v., on Imports.

suggests the shape of the northern Tyropœon. The Fish Gate thus corresponded to the modern Damascus Gate, opening on the same natural line of road down the Tyropœon, but further south: it is impossible to fix the exact position. The next gate westward is stated on Nehemiah's line, only after a considerable interval. This is unfortunate, for the stretch between these gates is precisely that portion of the wall, upon the exact line of which the most serious topographical questions depend. The Gate is called (as the text stands) by the puzzling name of *Gate of the Yeshanah*,[1] that is (if the latter word be really what it seems, a feminine adjective meaning *old*), *the Gate of the Old . . .*(?) It is usually translated *The Old Gate*, but the genitive construction forbids this. Various proposals to supply a noun have been made:[2] *the Old City* or *Wall* or *Pool;* and in supporting this last, Dr. Mitchell argues for its identification with the Pool of Hezekiah or the Patriarch's Bath.[3] One is tempted, by change of a single consonant to emend *Yeshanah* to *Mishneh*, and to read *Gate of the Second City*, the earliest northern suburb. This Gate has been identified with the Corner Gate and the First Gate.[4] If so, it stood near the north-west corner of the City, and we now turn down the western stretch of the wall. The next landmark mentioned in the course of the procession (but not in that of the rebuilding of

[1] שַׁעַר הַיְּשָׁנָה, Neh. iii. 6, xii. 39.

[2] Schultz; Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.* 1972, suggests this as the original of Hassenaah, הַסְּנָאָה.

[3] *Op. cit.* 134. On the Pool, see above, p. 114. As we have seen, the Old Pool was more probably the Lower Pool of Siloam.

[4] שַׁעַר הַפִּנָּה, 2 Ki. xiv. 13, שַׁעַר הָרִאשׁוֹן, Zech. xiv. 10. W. R. Smith, *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2424; W. F. Birch, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1879, 177.

the walls) is the well-known *Gate of Ephraim*, which was 400 cubits, about 600 feet (or 183 m.) from the Corner Gate. That this Gate is not given in the line of the rebuilt wall, and that a slightly different preposition is used for its relation to the passage of the procession from that used of the gates common to the procession and the rebuilding, induces one to suppose that the gate was not on the line of Nehemiah's wall, but below this on an inner and lower wall. And, in fact, a Gate of Ephraim was in existence on the first north wall before Hezekiah's time,[1] to whom, as we have seen, the second of the north walls is attributed. The Gate of Ephraim is usually placed a little to the south-east of the present Jaffa Gate; but one expects a gate with such a name to have stood further east, on the line of street running east of the Muristan to the Damascus Gate, or on the other line of street thither up the Tyropœon, in either case corresponding to the present Ephraim Gate of the City, and in the latter case representing on the First or inmost wall the Fish Gate of the Second Wall. The former alternative is the more probable. In the account of the rebuilding the next point after the Corner Gate is *the Broad Wall*, about which many conjectures have been made. A most natural one is that its unusual thickness was due to the outward ascent of the ground at the north-east corner.[2] But another cause may have been the overlapping of the First and Second Walls for some distance, and the subsequent filling up with masonry of the space between them. It is also possible that the name is a corruption of the *Wall of the Broad Place*, such as lay by the Gate

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 13; 2 Chron. xxv. 23. [2] Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 167.

of Ephraim.[1] The last landmark on the west stretch of wall, before the Gate of the Gaî is reached, is the *Tower of the Furnaces* or *Ovens*,[2] so called, perhaps, because the Bazaar of the Bakers, mentioned by Jeremiah, was situated there.[3]

Thus we return to our starting-point at the Gate of the Gaî, having completed our circuit of the pre-exilic wall which Nehemiah restored. Except for the manner in which the Gate of Ephraim is introduced, we have found no recognition of anything but a single wall. But the course which his accounts indicate for the northern stretch of the wall appears to have followed the line, not of the First Wall of Josephus on the northern slope of the South-west Hill, the earliest rampart of Jerusalem to the north, but rather the line of the Second Wall of Josephus, which curved from Antonia to the Gate Genath, somewhere near the present Jaffa Gate.

The North Wall of Nehemiah = the Second Wall of Josephus.

Such, then, is the course of the Pre-Exilic Wall which Nehemiah restored. It would be vain to attempt to determine exactly the various modifications of line and structure which it had received under the kings of Judah from Solomon to the Exile, partly because we may be sure that we have the reports of only some of these, and partly because what is reported is either vague or has come down to us in dilapidated texts. Still, for the sake of completing this history of the ancient walls of Jerusalem, we may

The Walls from Solomon to Manasseh.

[1] So the Vulgate of Neh. iii. 8. Cf. Neh. viii. 16. St. Clair, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1889, 99. Broad wall = חֹמָה הָרְחָבָה iii. 8.

[2] מִגְדַּל הַתַּנּוּרִים iii. 11.

[3] Jer. xxxvii. 21. See below, Bk. iii., on Jeremiah. On the custom of sending the domestic dough to be fired at the bakers' ovens, see below, Bk. ii. ch. viii.

here give a list of the buildings, destructions and rebuildings of the City walls between Solomon and the Exile. Solomon himself is said to have built *the wall of Jerusalem round about*.[1] On the ground that *Jerusalem* is distinct from David's-Burgh, and that the latter lay on the East Hill, Dr. Guthe holds that no other position is left for *Jerusalem* except the South-west Hill, and that it must have been this which Solomon in whole or in part enclosed, as Josephus asserts.[2] But while David's-Burgh was indeed an entity distinct from Jerusalem, it was a citadel and not a town,[3] and, as we have seen, there was room on the East Hill for the town to lie below and round it. There is no evidence that the name Jerusalem was confined to the South-west Hill, either in Solomon's or any other period; and the statement of Josephus, that David and Solomon surrounded the whole of the South-west Hill, cannot be taken as conclusive. At the same time, as we shall see when we come to deal with Solomon's reign, it is probable that the great increase of the population which his policy effected involved an extension of Jerusalem from the East to the South-west Hill; and it is also possible that Solomon's wall enclosed this extension. But how great the extension was, or what line the wall took, round or across the Hill, are questions we have no means of answering; and it may be doubted whether Josephus was any better informed. In that state of uncertainty, we must leave the question of

[1] 1 Kings iii. 1; cf. ix. 15.

[2] Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 678, lines 40 ff.; Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 2. This view has, of course, been frequently and, in fact, generally taken. Cf. Wilson in Smith's *D.B.*

[3] Above, p. 155. Also 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 distinguishes it from the rest of Ophel.

Solomon's wall round Jerusalem.[1] The next great building period in the pre-exilic history of the City was the eighth century; during which the commerce and wealth of Judea rapidly increased, the literature abounds in reports of architectural enterprise, and metaphors drawn from building became frequent in the prophets. Moreover Israel's widened horizon then included a knowledge of the military architecture of the Phœnicians and Assyrians;[2] and we have in the Siloam tunnel an example of the engineering ambitions and resources of the Judean kings.[3] About 790, Joash of Israel, attacking Jerusalem from the north, broke down *four hundred cubits of the wall from the Gate of Ephraim to the Gate of the Corner.*[4] This was, of course, upon the earliest and most southerly of the three northern walls of Josephus. On this face of the City, then, a wall was already standing, probably since Solomon's time. Of the next King, Uzziah (*circa* 780-740 B.C.) the Chronicler[5] reports that *he built towers in Jerusalem, over the Gate of the Corner and over the Gate of the Gai, and over the angle* or *turning* of the wall *and fortified them.* As explained below,[6] this notice is credible both from the great increase in building which distinguished Uzziah's reign, and from the development which military architecture had achieved by this period throughout western Asia. The Palestine fortresses, attacked by the Assyrians in the eighth and ninth centuries, are represented as polygonal, sometimes with double or even treble walls, but their main feature is the tower projecting from the wall We cannot think that the Jerusalem of Uzziah was any

[1] The question of what and where the Millo was, we must reserve for the History.

[2] See below, Bk. iii., under Uzziah.

[3] See above, p. 93.

[4] 2 Ki. xiv. 8-14, from an Israelite document.

[5] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

[6] See below, Bk. iii., under Uzziah.

less strongly or finely fortified than, for example, Lachish, of whose walls we have an Assyrian picture in the eighth century. The Chronicler tells us that the next king, Jotham, *built much on the wall of the 'Ophel.*[1] Ahaz also attended to the defences of the City ;[2] and we have seen already what Hezekiah did for these, including (the Chronicler states) the building of an outer wall—*he built all the wall which had been breached and raised upon it towers, and to the outside another wall*[3]—which is generally, but perhaps too easily, assumed to be the Second Wall of Josephus round the first northerly extension of the City; the northern stretch of Nehemiah's wall. As the walls of Jerusalem under Ahaz resisted the attempt of the Arameans, so, after their strengthening by Hezekiah, they resisted, alone among all the cities of Judah and the coast, the blockade of the Assyrians. Even more important for our present purpose is the proof which Hezekiah's tunnel and pool afford, that by his time the wall encompassed the whole of the South-west Hill. It would have been vain for him to bring the water of Gihon beneath Ophel to a pool in the mouth of the Tyropœon, in order to secure it for the use of the City in times of siege, if the South-west Hill had been wholly or partially open to the besiegers; for, under the conditions of ancient warfare, that hill commands the pool at the mouth of the Tunnel. By the eighth century then the South-west Hill and the mouth of the Tyropœon was all enclosed within a wall; and it is just possible that this is the *other outside wall* which the Chronicler's tradition assigns to Hezekiah himself. We must keep in view such an alternative to the

[1] 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.
[2] Isaiah vii. 2 ff., xxii. 8-11.
[3] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

theory which identifies it with the Second Wall of Josephus. Finally, in the seventh century, Manasseh (*circa* 685-640), according to the Chronicler, *built an outer wall to the David's-Burgh, on the west of Gihon in the Nahal, even on to the entry of the Fish-Gate, and he compassed the 'Ophel, and made it very high.*[1] This can only mean that outside the existing rampart of the Citadel, on the ridge above the present Virgin's Spring, Manasseh constructed another line of fortification which he carried northwards past the Temple Mount, and round its northern slope to the Sheep Gate.[2] These are all the reports, sometimes vague sometimes definite, that we have of those walls of Jerusalem; which were gradually developed from David to Manasseh; which Nebuchadrezzar destroyed, and which Nehemiah rebuilt.

Such is the literary evidence for the walls of Jerusalem between the time of David and that of Herod and of the reports of Josephus. Some definite conclusions may be drawn from it: that before the eighth century, nothing beyond Ophel is certain as to the course of the walls; that by the eighth century the whole of the South-west Hill and the mouth of the Tyropœon were enclosed; that by the Exile the wall, with perhaps an outer and inner line, ran up the edge of Ḳidron past the Temple Mount, and turned east up the tributary ravine to the north of the latter; that probably two walls protected the north face of the City, one the earliest, which there is no reason for denying to Solomon, from the western Temple wall up the north slope of the South-west Hill; and the other further north, probably from the rock on which Antonia afterwards stood, to join

Conclusions from the Literary or Historical Evidence.

[1] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

[2] See above, p. 200.

the inner wall somewhere east of the present Jaffa Gate: the course which Nehemiah followed in his rebuilding of a *single* line of wall round the city. Besides this, *the Ophel*, *the swelling* on which Ṣion or David's-Burgh stood, had been encompassed with a wall of its own from the earliest times, the north stretch of which, across the ridge between David's-Burgh and the Temple Mount, was probably *the wall of the 'Ophel* mentioned by Nehemiah; while Manasseh built an outer wall to *the 'Ophel* and continued it to the Fish-Gate. But besides affording these more or less definite data, the literary evidence reminds us no less by the length of time over which it stretches than by the large number of thorough or partial destructions of the City walls which it records, that their repair and reconstruction were very frequent if not almost constant, and that the masonry of earlier generations must have been employed by their successors, till in parts an inextricable mixture of styles of stone-dressing and building must have resulted. The rapidity with which Nehemiah accomplished his reconstruction is evidence that he used the squared stones of the older walls. Dr. Schick thinks it improbable that he used mortar;[1] yet some of his technical expressions seem to point to this.[2]

4. The Evidence of the Excavations.

With all this literary evidence before us, and these conclusions from it, we pass to an examination of the archæological evidence uncovered so profusely and yet so partially by recent excavation: keeping especially

[1] *Z.D.P.V.* xvii. 78. [2] See below, Bk. III., under Nehemiah.

in mind the last warning that, after so long and troubled a history as the walls have passed through, it will be extremely difficult, to say the least, to determine the different styles in their remains, and to assign them to different sections of our period. Sir Charles Warren, the first of the excavators, writes: 'The stones in the south wall are probably not *in situ*, nor, I think, are those of the Ophel wall: that is to say, they appear to be stones used in the building of a previous wall.'[1] And the same authority warns us of another difficulty in reaching the archæological facts: 'As the earth about here [Ophel] only covers the rock to a depth of from twelve to fifteen feet, it is possible that the wanting portion of the wall may have been taken up and sold for building stone by the fellahin who at the present day frequently go down to that depth in search of cut stone. Cut stone in Jerusalem is much in demand, and in the grounds of the fellahin all traces of wall at or near the surface are fast disappearing. The rock-cut steps and caves which existed along the slopes of Ophel are also fast becoming obliterated; the farmers find that these are the places where they have least trouble in blasting and quarrying the rock, and within the last few years many old features on the southern side of the old city have vanished; thus year by year the old Jerusalem will become more difficult to be understood.'[2] But these processes of change and obliteration have been at work for nearly three thousand years since Solomon *built the wall of Jerusalem round about.*

Their bearing on the archæological evidence.

Another necessary warning.

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 300. Dr. Bliss, too, gives several instances of the same.

[2] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 298. Cf. Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 22, 118, 120, 186.

The archæological evidence as to the walls has been provided by the excavators of the last forty years. Though not a few valuable observations had been made above-ground by earlier scholars and engineers,[1] the necessary basis of the work was first accurately laid down by Captain, afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir, Charles Wilson of the Royal Engineers, in his ordnance survey of the City's site, buildings, and surroundings.[2] The area of this survey was 'surveyed and drawn on the same scale and with the same accuracy as the cadastral or parish plans of

List of excavations and discoveries.

[1] As the result of a visit to Jerusalem and careful examination in 1833, Catherwood made a plan of the Ḥaram area, which, except for an error at the north-west angle made in joining his detached sketches, is, according to Wilson (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, 30), 'minutely accurate.' Among several others, a list of which is given in *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 30, we may mention here Robinson's and Barclay's, both of 1856, and Van de Velde's, of 1858, with memoir by Tobler. Robinson on his first visit discovered the ancient arch, since known by his name, and the remains of apparently a wall to the north of the present city. Barclay discovered an ancient gate, since known by his name, north of Robinson's arch. Signor Erm. Pierotti, employed by the native authorities as architect and engineer, was able between the years 1854 and 1862 to make a number of investigations into the remains of the ancient city, the results of which are given in two volumes, one of text and one of plates, entitled *Jerusalem Explored*, translated by T. G. Bonney, London, 1864. This work contains valuable observations and suggestions, but its data require to be used with great discrimination (cf. *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 30 f., Wilson's criticisms; 204 f., Warren's—both severe).

[2] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 1871, 3-32; *P.E.F. Memoir, Jerusalem*, by Warren and Conder, 1884; with portfolio of *Plans, Elevations, Sections, etc., of Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1867-70, by Warren. The original plans were:—*Plan of Jerusalem, etc.*, $\frac{1}{10000}$, or 6·33 inches to the mile; *Plan of Jerusalem, with Streets, Buildings, and Contours*, $\frac{1}{2500}$, or 25·34 inches to a mile; *Plans of Haram esh Sherif, with Cisterns, Vaults, and Contours*, $\frac{1}{300}$, or 10·56 feet to a mile; *Plans of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Dome of the Rock*, $\frac{1}{250}$; *Plans of the Citadel, etc.*, $\frac{1}{300}$. In 1900 there was also published by the Palestine Exploration Fund *Plan of Jerusalem, reduced by permission from the Ordnance Plan*, $\frac{1}{2500}$ scale, *made by Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., etc., to illustrate recent discoveries*, from which the plan in this volume, by kind permission of the Committee of the Fund, has been prepared.

England.' Captain Wilson also began excavations, and by the Bab es-Silsile discovered the arch which now bears his name. From 1867 to 1870 the first prolonged excavations were made by Captain, now Lieutenant-General Sir, Charles Warren, R.E., chiefly round the walls of the Ḥaram and on Ophel, partly also on the South-west Hill and at numerous points in and around the City, with a view of determining the rock-contours.[1] From 1872 to 1875 Lieutenant, now Lieutenant-Colonel, Conder, R.E., conducted further explorations in and around the City.[2] In 1875 Mr. Henry Maudslay, an English engineer, discovered and examined the Great Scarp, since known by his name, and other scarps and rock-cuttings on the edge of the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, west of the Cœnaculum.[3] In 1881 Dr., now Professor, Hermann Guthe conducted excavations of considerable extent upon Ophel.[4] From 1894 to 1897 Dr. F. J. Bliss, along with the architect, Mr. A. C. Dickie, excavated from Maudslay's Scarp round the edge of the South-west Hill, and in various lines across the Hill, also across the mouth of the Tyropœon round Siloam, on the southern end of Ophel, and for some distance up the Tyropœon.[5] To all these it is necessary to add the many observations and measurements made during the last thirty or forty years by various residents

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 35-329; *P.E.F. Memoir, Jerusalem*; *with Plans*, etc., in the *P.E.F.* portfolio. Cf. *Underground Jerusalem.*

[2] *P.E.F. Memoir, Jerusalem*; *Tent-Work in Palestine*; art. 'Jerusalem' in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, and other works.

[3] For accounts of this see Conder's article 'The Rock Scarp of Zion,' *P.E.F.Q.*, 1875, 81 ff.; and Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1 ff.

[4] *Z.D.P.V.*, v. 1882, 7-204, 271-378, republished under the title of *Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem*, 1883.

[5] *Excavations at Jerusalem 1894-1897*, by Bliss and Dickie, 1898. For the quarterly reports on which this volume is founded see *P.E.F.Q.*, 1894-1898.

in Jerusalem, and among them to mention especially the work of the late Baurath Schick, and that of Consul Merrill, both of which have been extremely valuable with respect in particular to the course of the north walls.[1] M. Clermont-Ganneau's *Archæological Researches*[2] must also be consulted. Finally, the ancient remains discovered are marked on the plan reduced by the Palestine Exploration Fund from Sir Charles Wilson's ordnance survey;[3] and on Herr A. Kuemmel's map to his *Materials for the Topography of Ancient Jerusalem*, in the text of which detailed accounts are given.[4]

Upon our survey of the remains of walls or scarps discovered in the course of all these systematic operations and scattered observations, it will be most convenient to start where we started for our circuit of Nehemiah's wall, about the south-west angle of the city, yet so as to include in our beginning Maudslay's Scarp, a little to the north of Nehemiah's Gate of the Gaî. From a point[5] 100 feet (30·5 m.) north of Bishop Gobat's School this great scarp was traced south, with one small projection, to the school, which is built over a second

Maudslay's Scarp.

[1] For Schick's long and patient work, valuable as that of a trained architect familiar with the literature, and resident for a long time in the city, see numerous papers in the *P.E.F.Q.* and *Z.D.P.V.*, particularly in the latter, viii. 245 ff.: 'Die Zweite Mauer Jerusalems,' etc. (by Schick and Guthe), xiv. 41 ff.: 'Nehemiah's Mauerbau,' and xvi.-xviii.: 'Die Baugeschichte der Stadt Jerusalem.' Consul Merrill's valuable experience and observations of many years, so generously communicated to visitors to the city, will also be found in numerous contributions to the *P.E.F.Q.* as well as the *Biblical World*, and are eagerly expected in fuller form in his forthcoming work on Jerusalem.

[2] London, *P.E.F.*, 1899, vol. i.

[3] See above, p. 211 *n.* 2.

[4] *Materialien zur Topgr. des alten Jerusalem*, by August Kuemmel; Halle, 1906. The map is on the scale of $\frac{1}{500}$.

[5] The scarp probably continues farther north than this point.

and larger projection of the scarp, 45 feet square and 20 feet high. Thence it runs south-east, with one projection, above the school garden and cemetery to the end of the latter, where, with outside steps leading up to it, another great rock-projection occurs, the face of which is some 43 feet long. 'For at least a third of its length, and presumably throughout its whole extent, the great scarp is a parapet of rock, in places 40 feet high on the outside and at least 14 feet within.'[1] No masonry appears to have been found *in situ* along the top of the scarp; but if, as is probable, a wall once ran along the latter, the result, as Colonel Conder justly says, 'must have been a splendid and impregnable fortification which might well defy any attempt to take Jerusalem from the south.' Parts of an outer scarp on a line running parallel to Maudslay's were uncovered by Dr. Bliss. Dr. Bliss began his excavations on the projection of Maudslay's Scarp at the south end of the cemetery. He found this to be the rock-base of a great tower, several courses of whose masonry are *in situ*. The stones, varying in length from 2 feet 10 inches (·86 m.) to 4 feet 8 inches (1·42 m.), and from 27 to 28 inches high (·68 to ·71 m.), have great bosses and long deep-set margins or drafts with the 'pock-mark dressing,' a style which (as we have seen) prevails from the earliest to a late age in Jerusalem. Outside were found fallen stones of the same style, but also others with 'the diagonal fine comb-pick dressing of crusading work.' On the rock-base of the tower the pottery 'points to early times.' Now, instead of finding the scarp to continue south-east from the tower on the edge of the Hill, as from its previous line Dr. Bliss naturally expected it to do, he discovered a

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1875, 84.

COURSES OF ANCIENT CITY WALL ON THE SOUTH-WEST HILL (Near the Protestant Cemetery).
Discovered by Dr. Bliss.

deep rock-cut fosse on the south-west of the tower turning round its south-east face and crossing the back of the Hill in a north-easterly direction. On the north side of this fosse a scarp runs on from the tower, on its south side a lower counter-scarp. It has been suggested that this fosse was originally a rock-hewn road, with a gate, therefore, at the tower. But, however this may have been, it is clear that at some period the strong line of defence marked by Maudslay's Scarp turned at the tower north-east across the back of the Hill.[1]

Having sufficiently ascertained that direction of the fosse, Dr. Bliss started upon those excavations round the edge of the Hill which resulted in his great discovery of two lines of wall. From the fosse, one of those lines, 9 feet thick of fine masonry on a rubble base, runs south-east 105 feet (32 m.) to the Gate described above.[2] The fine masonry is of stones from one foot to three in size, well set in lime, 'smooth-faced, without margins and dressed with the comb-pick.' The Gate has four superimposed sills of four different periods, of which the highest is 8 feet wide (2·44 m.) and the three lower 8 feet 10 inches (2·89 m.): 'the smooth-faced masonry described above was characteristic of the wall during the four gate periods'; below the pavement leading to the highest sill was a pilaster with a Roman *graffito*. From the Gate a drain and street ran into the City north-eastwards. From the Gate the wall continues for 31 feet (9·45 m.), in two styles of smooth-faced masonry resting on rough-dressed work, to a tower, which shows these to belong to two periods. From this tower, its

The south-west Wall.

[1] For above details see *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 4-14.
[2] P. 177.

extreme south-west angle, the line of wall sets in the direction of Siloam, its extreme south-east angle, down to which it was traced by Dr. Bliss, except where it passes under the Jewish cemetery. Like the tower above mentioned, the wall consists of two distinct and separate constructions, one above the other, and often with a thick layer of *débris* between them. The upper wall, sometimes resting on this *débris*, sometimes on the lower wall, and of smooth-faced masonry, belongs to the gate of the four sills, representing four different periods. It was, therefore, a wall of long standing; the upper sill, from the remains below it, is clearly post-Roman; and it may be inferred from the sameness of the masonry in the gateway and upper wall throughout that the whole of both belong to the Christian era. Dr. Bliss reasonably, therefore, takes them to be the remains of the wall of the Empress Eudocia.[1] Unfortunately, the remains cease some 300 feet (about 91 m.) west of the Jewish cemetery. The thick *débris* below them is the record of a time when no city wall existed here, which condition suits the age between the destruction by Titus and the wall of Eudocia.[2] In the lower wall, always resting on the rock and running the whole way to the south-east corner of the City, Dr. Bliss detected three systems of construction. The earliest is of stones with broad margins, carefully comb-picked, while the centres are pick-dressed, without mortar, but with jointing 'so close that a pin-point can hardly be inserted.' Bonded into this is the masonry of a later period of lower courses, rough and with different kinds of dressed stones, some of which have evidently been borrowed from the earlier system. And there is a

[1] See above, p. 186.

[2] Above, pp. 185 f.

third period in which (if I understand Dr. Bliss aright) occur the fragments which he found, 'of Græco-Jewish mouldings, like those in the Hasmonean monuments in the Kidron valley.'[1]

This lower line Dr. Bliss takes to be the wall which Titus destroyed, and the patch-work in which the Græco-Jewish mouldings occur, to represent some of the latest repairs on that wall during the Hasmonean and Herodian or Roman periods.[2] No one familiar with the literature of excavation can fail to feel that Dr. Bliss's methods of work on this line of wall were as thorough, or that his reasoning so far on the question of dates is as convincing, as any in the whole range of the literature; especially if one has had the good fortune to examine any of the discoveries for himself. But to go behind this general conclusion and to seek to determine the dates of the earlier systems of construction which the wall contains is precarious. To which of the many repairs of the wall between Nehemiah and the Hasmoneans,[3] that we have found reported, are we to assign the lower courses of rough masonry containing older stones of several styles: Dr. Bliss's second system? It is impossible to answer. It ought to be less difficult to ascertain the date of the 'exquisitely dressed and jointed masonry' of his first system. This must belong to one of the few epochs of original and massive building in Jerusalem. The Herodian is excluded. There remain those of Solomon's reign and the Eighth Century B.C.[4] Dr. Bliss discusses the following alternatives for the earliest of the three

Date of the lower south-west Wall and Maudslay's Scarp.

[1] For all these details, see *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 14-47, and 314.

[2] *Ibid.* 319.

[3] See above, pp. 194 ff.

[4] See above, pp. 204 ff.

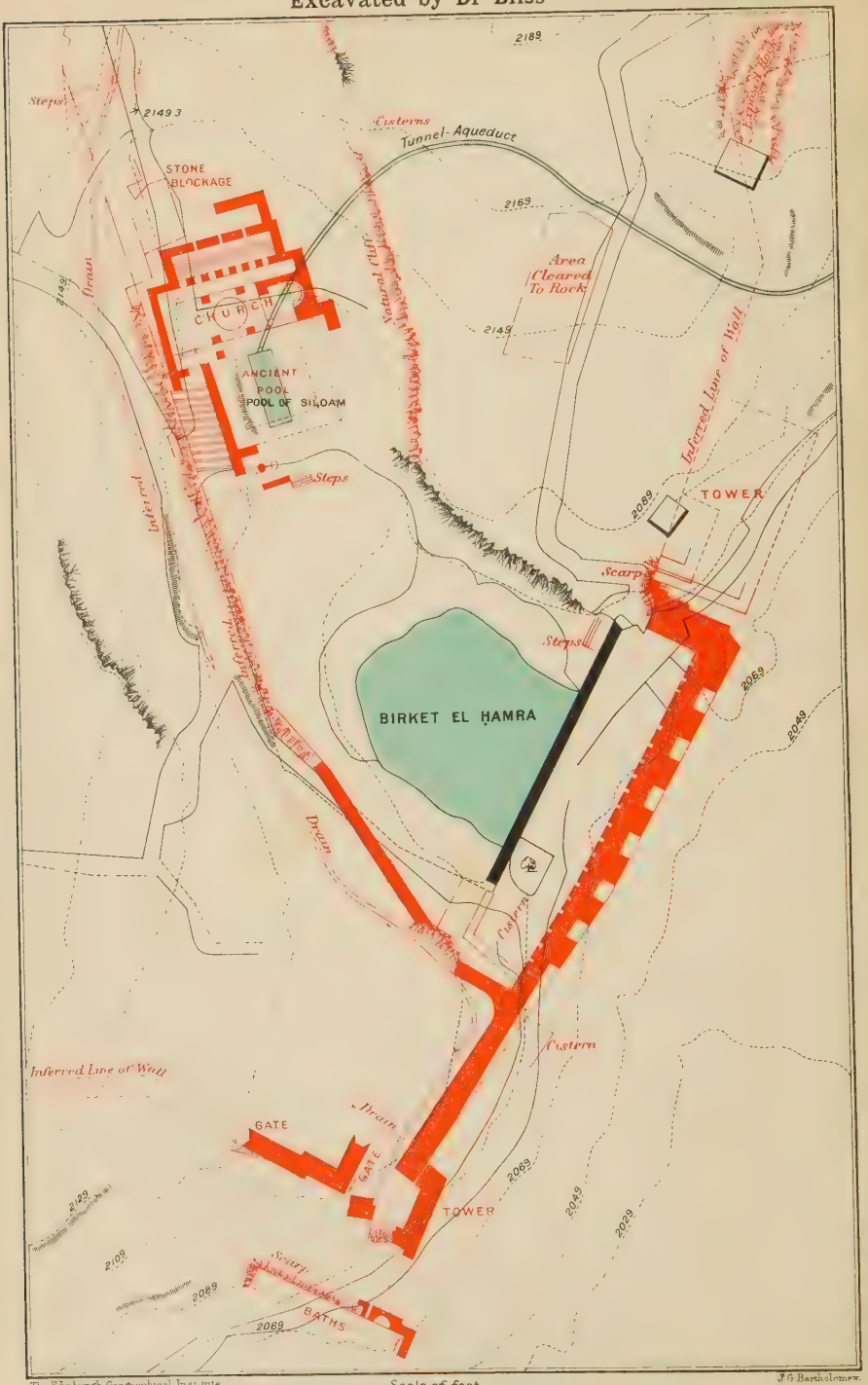
systems in the wall, along with the question of Maudslay's Scarp, and its turn at the great tower to the north-east across the Hill. If the lower wall be the later, then the rock-base of the tower, he thinks, will represent the south-west angle of the City in Solomon's time, in which case this king's wall did not enclose the whole of the South-west Hill. If the lower wall be contemporaneous with the Scarp, the latter represents a citadel on the line of the City wall with a fosse partly within and partly without the City. The want of connection between the wall and the Scarp would probably be due to the builders of the thirteenth Christian century, who ran a wall across the Hill north of the Cœnaculum, to which wall the stones with the Crusading dressing found on the fosse would belong. That Maudslay's Scarp is later than the lower wall, Dr. Bliss thinks impossible, because Hadrian's wall was farther to the north, and there is no other period to which so magnificent a fortification as the Scarp could be assigned after the date of Titus. To Dr. Bliss's argument I have only this to add—that, as we have seen that the South-west Hill and Siloam[1] must have been enclosed within the City wall by the eighth century, the oldest masonry in Dr. Bliss's lower wall is probably at the latest of that date. Whether we can carry it or Maudslay's Scarp back to Solomon,[2] it is impossible in my judgment to say. A line of wall which Dr. Bliss discovered on the South-west Hill east of the Cœnaculum he assigns, because of its Byzantine moulding and its agreement with the line of the south wall of the City upon Marino Sanuto's map (1321 A.D.), to the thirteenth Christian century.

[1] See above, p. 207.

[2] So Dr. Bliss, p. 334.

WALLS AT MOUTH OF CENTRAL VALLEY
Excavated by Dr Bliss

MAP 5



The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

Scale of feet

100 0 100 200

J. G. Bartholomew.

London: Hodder and Stoughton.

We turn now to the difficult complex of walls discovered round the south-east angle of the ancient City, and across and in the mouth of the Tyropœon.

South-east Angle of the Ancient Wall.

We have seen that Dr. Bliss traced the lower and more ancient south wall along the edge of Hinnom all the way (except under the Jewish cemetery) to the south-east angle of the ancient City. About 150 feet (46 m.) before this angle is reached by the wall, there opens in the latter a little gate which it would be tempting to identify with Nehemiah's Dung-Gate, but that Dr. Bliss considers it too small to have been 'an exterior gate of the city.'[1] Close to the south-east angle (due south from the Pool of Siloam), Dr. Bliss uncovered a more massive gateway, which, both from its position and construction, must have been for long one of the great gates of Jerusalem. It lies at the end of a branch of the main street up and down the Tyropœon, and beneath it the great Tyropœon drain leaves the City. The construction, with three different sills, represents three periods. The earliest Dr. Bliss takes to be that of the Jewish kings, and the Gate itself to be Nehemiah's *Gate of the Fountain* or *Spring*.[2] The second period he judges was that of Eudocia's wall, whose builders, since their characteristic masonry[3] is lacking in the gateway, must have used here the masonry of the ancient Jewish wall.[4] The third period, according to him, is also of the Eudocian wall, which, he infers from Bede, lasted till the eighth Christian century.[5] Dr. Mitchell

[1] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 87 f. This small gate is omitted both by Mitchell, *op. cit.*, and on Kuemmel's map.

[2] 'Perhaps.' Kuemmel, *Materialien*, etc., 72. [3] See above, p. 216.

[4] Alternatively their masonry here has been wholly destroyed.

[5] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 327 f.

identifies the Gate as Nehemiah's Dung-Gate, on the grounds that it lies at the mouth of the Tyropœon, further up which the present Dung-Gate opens, and that the ancient drain runs beneath it.[1] To protect the Gate, a tower was added in both of the last two periods, and formed the precise south-east angle of the wall.

Ancient Walls across the mouth of the Tyropœon.

From this tower Dr. Bliss followed the wall north-east across the mouth of the Tyropœon to the toe of the East Hill.[2] It runs nearly parallel to the line of the present dam of the Birket el-Ḥamrâ, but some 50 feet (over 15 m.) to the east, and at its north end, turns round a tower or corner buttress north-west to the line of the dam. Originally this wall was 8 or 9 feet (2·44 to 2·74 m.) thick, but besides the corner buttress it had six others which added to its thickness 11 feet (3·35 m.). After being ruined it was rebuilt flush with the face of the buttresses, and later still a rough supporting wall was constructed against the front of it. The many buttresses, unnecessary for military purposes; the subsequent filling of the spaces between them; and the supporting wall, prove that this stretch of wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon served also as a dam to the Pool. Indeed, Dr. Bliss found not only that the original wall had burst or bulged from internal pressure, but that there are signs of the action of the water even on the outside supports.[3] The Pool, therefore, extended at

[1] *Op. cit.* 114. Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.*, viii. 679, lines 14 f., contents himself with stating that the Dung-Gate was in this region, and that here Dr. Bliss uncovered a gate.

[2] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 96-115.

[3] *Ibid.* 101, 105 f. along with Plate xii., shaft K2 (signs of bulging and wrenching); 106 f., 115 (signs of action of water on exterior wall).

one time 50 feet (15 m.) east of the present dam. But Dr. Bliss also discovered what some previous excavations by Dr. Guthe had rendered probable, that at another time the wall had crossed the valley on the line of the present dam, and that after it had reached the toe of the East Hill a tower (of two periods) had projected from it over the Ḳidron valley. The result is to prove that at many different periods—Dr. Bliss thinks five—the main city wall crossed the mouth of the Tyropœon *below* both the Pools of the Siloam. That it was a city wall and not merely a dam is proved by the convergence of all its lines upon the scarp at the toe of the East Hill, from which it continued up the edge of the latter. In none of these lines was any indication of a gate discovered. No gate was possible, of course, opposite the Pool. South of this Dr. Bliss found the wall continuous, though after a study of his and Dr. Guthe's excavations at this point of the South-west Hill I am not prepared to say a gate never existed here. On the north of the Tyropœon, where the presence of the tower (of the two periods) might lead us to suppose a gate, and where Dr. Mitchell would place the Fountain-Gate,[1] nothing of a gateway was seen. It is true that the remains here are much ruined and mixed, but the high, stepped scarp, which exists on the toe of the East Hill, just where Dr. Mitchell would place the Fountain-Gate, seems, with Dr. Bliss's description, to preclude all possibility of a gate.[2]

These massive city walls of various periods across the mouth of the Tyropœon were, however, not the only ancient walls in this region. Just where the outer line

[1] *Op. cit.* 116, and plan on p. 162.
[2] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 108 ff. with Plan xiii.

leaves the South-west Hill, about 130 feet (over 39 m.) from the tower at the south-east angle, Dr. Bliss found another wall[1] at right angles to the outer one, and traced it, wall and scarp, north-west up the edge of the South-west Hill above the Tyropœon, and therefore on the west of the two pools of Siloam, to a point above the upper Pool. From here it remains undecided whether the wall continued in the same direction, and was therefore part of a wall encompassing the South-west Hill, or whether (as Dr. Bliss thinks) it struck east above the Upper Pool to Ophel. If this was ever an exterior city wall, it left the two Pools outside. In parts it is 10 feet thick, but Dr. Bliss says it may have been only an interior wall. Unfortunately the remains have been recently much removed by the fellahin, and except for the stepped scarps the line of it may soon vanish.

Ancient Wall up the West of the Tyropœon.

The attempt to identify all these remains of walls in and about the mouth of the Tyropœon is not one which we can hope to make successful. All we can say with certainty is that the City wall after turning its south-east angle, where there was always an important gate, crossed at many periods, if not all, of its history the mouth of the Tyropœon so as to include the two pools, and then ran (as we shall see) right up the east edge of Ophel above the Ḳidron. And it is at least reasonable to hold that the original wall with six buttresses across the Tyropœon existed in Hezekiah's day, because unless the mouth of the Tyropœon was then enclosed there would have been no object in

Attempts to identify all these Walls.

[1] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 116-126. Dr. Bliss was here following previous excavations by Dr. Guthe and Herr Schick.

bringing the waters of Gihon under Ophel to a pool in the mouth of the Tyropœon in order to secure them from besiegers. In this case it is natural to take the gate of the south-east angle as the Fountain-Gate, a position which does not disagree with Nehemiah's data,[1] and to suppose that the Dung-Gate opened upon Hinnom further up the south wall, where the line of this was not excavated by Dr. Bliss. I admit, however, that the position of the Fountain-Gate is not certain. Yet we seem shut up to its identification with the gate at the angle by the absence of any trace of a gateway on the wall across the Tyropœon, unless one opened on the south of the latter.[2] There remains the question of the wall up the Tyropœon and its relation to the wall across. Was that wall up the Tyropœon ever an exterior City wall built when the wall across was in ruin, so as to leave outside the two Pools which the latter had included? Dr. Bliss thinks it was, and takes it as the line of the City wall in the times of Herod and Josephus.[3] In the latter's description of that line, on which Dr. Bliss founds his argument,[4] the data are not quite clear, and in fact except for one proposition, '*above* the fountain Siloa,' on which it would be unwise to build a great argument, they suit both a line which includes and a line which excludes Siloam. But putting that passage aside, I do not think that another passage—in the exhortation which Josephus claims to have made to the Jews to surrender to Titus—can be interpreted except as meaning that the spring of Siloam (as the issue of the waters from

[1] Above, p. 197. [2] Above, p. 221.
[3] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 326, 335; Plate xxix. No. 3.
[4] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 2.

the tunnel into the pool is still called by the Arabs) lay outside the walls. He says: 'For Titus those springs run more plentifully, which before were for you dried up; you know that Siloa failed and all the springs outside the city, so that water was sold by the jar, but now they so abound for your enemies that they are sufficient not only for themselves and their cattle but for their gardens.'[1] Assuming that this sentence means that Siloam, as well as 'all the springs outside the city,' was available for the Romans, and therefore like them *extra muros*, we have to ask, is it correct? In reply we have already seen that it is contradicted by the testimony of Strabo, Dion Cassius, and others;[2] and I may now add that Josephus himself elsewhere implies that Siloam lay within the walls under command of the besieged, for he says that Simon, one of their leaders, held, along with other parts of Jerusalem, 'as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east[3] . . . and he also held the fountain.'[4] According to this, then, Siloam was within the wall at the time of the siege.[5] There is further the following consideration. As it would have been unnatural in the time of Hezekiah to leave the one running water of the district outside the wall, so also in the days of Herod and Josephus, especially when it was so much easier to carry the wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon on the old foundations than to carry it up the Tyropœon, round the spring and down again to the toe of the East Hill. On these grounds, then, we may, in opposition to Dr. Bliss, assume that the wall

[1] Jos. v. *B.J.* ix. 4 (409 f.).
[2] See above, pp. 16, 80, 87.
[3] Or 'north-east.'
[4] Jos. v. *B.J.* vi. 1.
[5] Since writing the above I see that Kuemmel (*Materialien*, etc., 71) comes to the same conclusion.

followed at the time of Titus's siege the same line as it did in Hezekiah's day: that is, across the mouth of the Tyropœon so as to include the two Pools. What, then, are we to make of Dr. Bliss's line of wall up the Tyropœon? It seems to me there are three alternatives possible. Either (1) it was originally laid down before the ancient wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon and the tunnel and the upper pool were constructed, in which case we should have to think of it as built to encompass the South-west Hill, and as rendering that Hill a separately fortified town, with the valley open between it and the equally fortified East Hill; or (2) it was built by the Maccabees round Jerusalem when the Syrians held the Akra on the East Hill,[1] and the wall across the Tyropœon had been destroyed by Antiochus Epiphanes; or (3) it is some later wall built in the Christian era after Titus had again destroyed the wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon. The last alternative is attractive, but for the first there is this evidence in the Old Testament that under the Jewish kings *two walls* existed in this region, one of whose pools was called *a reservoir between the two walls* made *for the water of the old pool* after the people had *held back the water of the lower pool*.[2] This seems a suitable description of Hezekiah's diversion of the water of Gihon (which had flowed by Schick and Masterman's conduit into the Birket el-Ḥamrâ,[3] or lower pool) by the tunnel to the new upper pool. But if so, the *two walls* existed from Hezekiah's time onwards. Either they were the one up the Tyropœon and the one across the mouth of it,[4] or else the former and the wall on the west of

[1] See above, pp. 194 f. [2] Isaiah xxii. 9, 11. [3] See above, p. 91 f., 98.
[4] So Bliss (apparently: pp. 326 f.) and Benzinger.

Ophel.[1] In either of these cases it would be difficult to place *the gate between the two walls* by which Zedekiah and his soldiers, upon their escape from the City, emerged upon the King's Gardens.[2] Another alternative for the two walls, however, presents itself in connection with their use as the name for this exterior Gate. They might be the south wall above Hinnom and the east wall across the Tyropœon, which meet at the south-east angle, and *the gate between the two walls* would be an appropriate name for the great gate Dr. Bliss discovered at the angle. Among these uncertain alternatives we must leave the subject. Unfortunately, the nature of the little masonry left on the wall up the Tyropœon has not been sufficiently ascertained; nor did the remains at the point where the wall across, and the wall up, the Tyropœon diverge allow Dr. Bliss to determine anything decisive as to their relation.[3]

The East City Wall. Guthe's Excavations on Ophel.

We pass now to the ancient lines of wall which excavators have traced upon the ridge of the East Hill south of the Ḥaram area. At the toe of the East Hill, upon a scarp, we saw that all the lines of ancient wall crossing the mouth of the Tyropœon valley northward converged, and that Dr. Bliss found here the remains of a tower

[1] So Duhm, Marti (one alternative), Guthe (Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 679), and Paton.

[2] 2 Kings xxv. 2-5=Jer. lii. 5-8; Jer. xxxix. 2-5.

[3] As this sheet goes to press there has appeared, in the *Journ. for Bibl. Liter.*, xxv. 1906, 1-13, an interesting paper on the 'Meaning of the Expression "between the Two Walls,"' by Prof. Lewis B. Paton. He takes the 'Gate between the Two Walls' (equivalent to the Fountain Gate) as having stood above the Upper Pool in the wall round Ophel, the Fountain of Siloam being outside it. But as (for the reasons given above) we must think of the exterior wall of the City as having crossed the mouth of the Tyropœon from Hezekiah's time onwards, and as the 'Gate between the two walls' was an exterior city gate through which Zedekiah and his men emerged on the King's Gardens, I am unable to agree with Prof. Paton's identification.

projecting from the wall over Ḳidron. From this point the east wall of the City must have run northwards on the edge of the Hill above Ḳidron. On this line Dr. Guthe conducted a number of excavations in 1881.[1] About 90 feet (over 27 m.) from the scarp he came upon a fragment of wall, finely and very firmly constructed, the original breadth of which must have been about 13 feet (4 m.). Unfortunately this fragment, undoubtedly part of the City wall, was only about 10 feet 6 inches long (3·2 m.).[2] The next discoveries were much further north, still on the edge of the Hill, from a point immediately above the Virgin's Spring for about 370 feet (113 m.) southwards.[3] They consisted of many fragments of wall and signs of scarped and levelled rock. For the most part the fragments of wall rested upon rock, but some of them upon concrete.[4] Their various directions show that the wall, or walls, here must have been built with various angles and perhaps projecting towers, just as one might have expected. Dr. Guthe distinguishes seven kinds of masonry, which he assigns to all ages from the most remote antiquity to the Byzantine period.[5] The general result may be accepted, that all these periods are represented on this most ancient portion of the City's site. For here the Jebusite citadel stood, afterwards David's-Burgh and the Syrian Akra; walls encompassing *the 'Ophel* are attributed to at least one Jewish king; Nehemiah rebuilt the wall here, and here it stood, being destroyed at intervals, till the time of the siege by Titus; and here it was after-

[1] *Z.D.P.V.*, 1882, 7-204, 271-378.
[2] *Ibid.* 42 f., 279, Tafel viii. K.
[3] *Ibid.* 145 f., 150-166.
[4] *Ibid.* 161 f., 286.
[5] *Ibid.* 284 ff.

wards rebuilt by Eudocia. But these very facts, to whose multitude the huge masses of *débris* shot into the Ḳidron valley below bear impressive witness, prove how impossible it is to distinguish exactly among the different dates. A fuller excavation than Dr. Guthe accomplished would hardly lead to success, for the remains here have always been within reach of the quarrying fellahin, and even since Dr. Guthe worked heaps of old stones have been dug out, and portions of the rock itself have been blasted away.[1] But we may accept his identifications of the very ancient unmortared masonry as primitive, and the next most ancient as that of the masonry of the Jewish kings working under Phœnician influence; as also his recognition of Byzantine work in the smooth-faced stones without bosses or margins which he uncovered;[2] for this is the same as we have seen in the wall on the South-west Hill, which Dr. Bliss has reasonably assigned to the Empress Eudocia. But Dr. Guthe's other distinctions, into work respectively of Solomon, Hezekiah, Nehemiah and the Maccabees, are much more precarious. One suggestion I feel to be untenable: that of a certain double layer of squared stones to Jonathan,[3] for as long as the Akra stood in the possession of the Syrians, it is very improbable that any of the Maccabees built walls so near to it.

From the north end of Dr. Guthe's discoveries, the line of the east wall can only be inferred for some 295 feet (90 m.) northwards past a rocky knoll near which 'some massive walls have been uncovered,'[4] till we

[1] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 127.
[2] *Z.D.P.V.*, 1882, 310 f.
[3] *Ibid.* 147.
[4] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 298.

reach, upon the same edge of Ophel, the south end of the wall discovered by Captain Warren[1] in 1867. Commencing at the south-east angle of the Haram, he traced it in prolongation of the east wall southwards for 76 feet (23·18 m.) to a small tower, at which it turns with the ridge south-west for 700 feet, and then stops abruptly. At the base 14 feet 6 inches thick (4·42 m.), it rises from the clay, on which it rests, 50 feet, or 74 above the rock. The lower 20 feet (6·09 m.) are of rubble masonry, with a plinth course of a 6-inch (15 cm.) projection above it, and then smooth-faced masonry without margins or bosses. Whatever may have been the origin of the lower rubble—whether an older wall or a foundation for the upper masonry—this latter, as Dr. Bliss points out,[2] resembles the masonry of his upper line of wall on the South-west Hill: the proportions of the stones and the spaces between the towers on the two walls are also much the same.[3] But further, this Ophel wall rests like the south-west wall on the line of an older construction: besides its own small towers, Sir Charles Warren found the remains of two towers with large boss-and-margin stones corresponding to the masonry of the lower wall on the South-west Hill. One of these towers, projecting 41½ feet (12·65 m.) from the rubble line to a face of 80 feet (24·39 m.), Sir Charles Warren has suggested, may be *the tower which lieth out*.[4]

The East City Wall. Warren's Excavations on Ophel.

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 294 ff.; *P.E.F. Memoirs*, 'Jerusalem,' 226 ff., with plates v. and xi.

[2] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 129.

[3] All this would indicate that from the plinth upwards at least, Warren's wall is that built by the Empress Eudocia. Kuemmel (p. 89) thinks it must go back at least to the time of Herod.

[4] See above, p. 199.

Of other lines of wall on Ophel, of which we read at least once that it was encompassed,[1] few traces remain.

Other Walls on Ophel.

Sir Charles Warren found a wall running west from the east wall, 15 feet (4·57 m.) south of the Ḥaram wall. It is but 4 feet (1·21 m.) thick. No traces of a wall with masonry *in situ* have been found along the west edge of Ophel above the Tyropœon or round the south end; but scarps stand here and there upon this line, and the disappearance of the masonry is well accounted for by the fact that in later ages the wall was not required for the defence of the city, and must have been destroyed without being rebuilt.

The Ḥaram Area and the Temple Walls.

We have now, with Warren's wall, reached the south-east angle of the Ḥaram area. Here we strike what in one shape or another was always a separate part of Jerusalem, enclosed, as to-day, within its own walls, and forming a distinct keep or citadel within and partly upon the walls of the City. If I abstain from giving a detailed description of this Temple area, its buildings, substructions, and surrounding wall, that is not only because such a description would require almost a volume to itself, but because with the data at present before us I am unable to come to conclusions upon many of the details. For our present task, the survey of the City walls, only a general outline is necessary of what the excavations have shown to be probable concerning the area and its boundaries. It is universally agreed that the threshing-floor of Araunah upon which Solomon built the First Temple and its courts lay somewhere within the present Ḥaram area. The Biblical descriptions, as well as the tenacity with

[1] See above, p. 208.

which sanctuaries in the East hold through all changes of religion to the same sites, form sufficient premises for this conclusion. Further, the investigation of the contours of the original hill under the Ḥaram area has shown that the site of the First Temple and its courts must have been upon the highest portion of the hill, round the Rock es-Ṣakhra, where indeed Josephus places it.[1] On this site also lay the Second Temple, and by consequence, the Temple of Herod. But Herod practically doubled the sacred precincts.[2] According to Josephus, the perimeter of the area under Solomon had been four stadia,[3] but after Herod's reconstruction was six, including Antonia.[4] Thus, while Solomon's Temple area had been a square, one stadium in each direction,[5] Herod's became an oblong, probably by extension north and south. The dimensions which Josephus gives are not trustworthy, nor reconcilable with those of the Ḥaram area. Some think that in *extent* the present Ḥaram area is the same as Herod's Temple area; but, for reasons given below, the latter probably did not extend much further north than the present 'Golden Gate,' thus excluding the space east of Antonia. The Ḥaram area forms not a quite perfect rectangle; only the south-west and north-east angles are right angles.[6] Exact measurements have been attempted several times, but their results differ. Approximately the south side is 920 feet, the east 1540, the north 1035, and

[1] v. *B.J.* v. 1. A study of the contours shows the improbability of the theory of Fergusson, Thrupp, Lewin, and others, advocated by W. R. Smith, art. 'Temple,' *Enc. Brit.*, that Solomon's Temple, and, according to the last-named, Herod's also, lay in the south-west angle of the Ḥaram area, which projects on substructions over the Tyropœon.

[2] Jos. i. *B.J.* xxi. 1; cf. xv. *Ant.* xi. 3.

[3] xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 (near the end).

[4] v. *B.J.* v. 2 (§ 192).

[5] xv. *Ant.* xi. 3.

[6] *P.E.F. Mem.* 119.

the west 1605 (about 280, 470, 315, 490 m.), which do not agree with the round figures of Herod's area given by Josephus, nor are the proportions of length to breadth nearly the same. Herod surrounded his area by a great wall with battlements,[1] round all the inside of which ran colonnades or porticoes,[2] destroyed by Titus, and never rebuilt. It is not impossible that, in constructing this wall, Herod had made use of at least the foundations of the old Temple area wall on the west and east. But, to obtain the extension of the area, especially on the south, he must have had to form great substructions, and surround these parts with a wall new from the bottom. So far as they go, the excavations confirm, and nowhere contradict, this assumption. They have revealed the present walls round the area to be of very composite structure, indicative of building and rebuilding at many different periods. Sir Charles Warren's researches have determined forty-one courses of stone,[3] of which from six to twenty are at various points still above-ground, the rest being covered by masses of shot *débris,* or lying deeper still in the original soil above the rock on which the foundation courses rest. Of the courses above-ground, from three to twelve are of comparatively modern masonry, either Turkish, with stones of irregular form and many kinds of dressing, some of which have evidently been borrowed from older structures; or else uniformly Byzantine, smooth-faced, without margins or bosses. But other courses are as evidently older; large stones with margins and very fine joints. These can be seen to-day in the

[1] iv. *B.J.* ix. 12. [2] xv. *Ant.* xi. 5; v. *B.J.*, v. 2.

[3] See the interesting table, Appendix iii. of the *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 332 f.

lowest course above-ground in the south wall west of the Single Gate, or better still, from this eastward to the south-east angle, where the present surface falling rapidly away leaves several courses of them visible. Below-ground, according to Sir Charles Warren's reports, the courses everywhere exhibit an ancient character. All these older pre-Byzantine courses are as ancient *at least* as the Herodian age, in which the Temple area was so greatly extended, chiefly (as we have seen) by substructions and walls new from the foundation on the south and south-west, so as to cover the bed of the Tyropœon valley above which the present south-west angle of the area lies. The masonry resembles that of the extant base of Herod's Tower, Phasael, and of other remains of buildings constructed under the Greek influences which prevailed during this period. Whether any part of the surrounding walls goes behind the Herodian age, or any is Maccabean, or even Solomonic, cannot be declared with certainty. Sir Charles Warren has shown how different the masonry round the south-west angle from the Bab-el-Mughârib to the Double Gate is from that to the north of it, on the west wall; and we have seen that, on other grounds, this angle of the area was Herod's work. But probably the whole south wall was his. The north wall has not been sufficiently examined, but is later than even Agrippa. Some think that the portions of the west and east walls, which are opposite the site of Solomon's Temple, are Solomon's original Temple walls. In their lower courses there is nothing to conflict with the theory of his date, but the archaic letters found on them cannot be used in evidence of this; these may be as late as Agrippa. Solomon's Temple-court had its

southern limit some 300 feet north of the south wall of the Ḥaram. As his Palace was to the south of and below his Temple,[1] it must, as Sir Charles Warren long ago pointed out, have lain within the south Ḥaram wall—he thinks at the south-east angle, but probably further north, immediately adjoining the Temple.

From these observations of the Temple walls we return to the east City wall, one line of which, we saw, ran up the east margin of Ophel to their south-east angle. This east City wall is independent of the east Temple wall, though built in a line with it. It is of very different construction, rising perpendicularly, while the Temple wall has a batter; and it is founded on the clay above the rock, while the Temple wall is founded on the rock itself. These facts point to the Ophel wall as the later of the two; and indeed we found that it resembled, and was probably the continuation of, the wall of Eudocia, uncovered by Dr. Bliss on the South-west Hill. In the fifth century, then, as to-day, the east City wall, after coming up Ophel, was continued by the east Ḥaram wall in line with it. But it is extremely probable that this was also the case in the Herodian age, and at the siege by Titus. The fact that the south-east angle of the Herodian wall is not a right angle, like that at the south-west, can be explained by the east wall of Herod's Temple area having been built in line with the City wall up Ophel, which Herod found, and the line of which Eudocia followed. And indeed Josephus expressly says that the City wall coming up Ophel 'joined on to the east cloister of the Temple.'[2] Nor does he contradict this datum by any-

East City Wall coincident with East Wall of Temple area in the Herodian period.

[1] See below, Bk. III. ch. iii.

[2] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 2.

thing else he says in his description of the Temple and account of the siege, but, on the contrary, rather confirms it; for he nowhere mentions an east City wall outside of the east wall of the Temple area, but describes how one looked down from the top of the latter, a giddy height, into the valley below.[1] Nor do I think all this is contradicted by his statement that Agrippa's wall, comir round the north of the City, 'joined to the old wall a came to an end in the ravine called Kedron,'[2] beca *the old wall* is too vague a phrase from which to infer a separate City wall east of and below the east Ḥaram wall, and (as just said) Josephus nowhere describes a course for the City wall independently of the latter, but, on the contrary, leaves a gap just where the east Ḥaram wall comes in. On these grounds we may assume that in the Herodian age, and at the siege, the east wall of the Temple area had no City wall to the east of it, but lay above Ḳidron, the only rampart of Jerusalem upon that quarter.[3] And this view is further confirmed by the fact that Sir Charles Warren found the east Ḥaram wall running on continuous to the north after the north-east angle of the Ḥaram area was passed,[4] that is, into the line of Agrippa's wall.

But probably it was different in Old Testament times,

[1] xv. *Ant.* xi. 5. His remark that one could not see the bottom of the valley from the top of the Temple walls does not mean, of course, that a city wall came in to break the view, but that the height was so great as to strain the spectator's eyes in reaching to the bottom—a characteristic hyperbole.

[2] v. *B.J.* iv. 2. Does 'ravine called of the Kedron' mean here, as Sandie (263 f.) holds, 'the tributary ravine'?

[3] Kuemmel takes a contrary view, on the ground of the phrase, *the old wall* (*Materialien*, etc., 89).

[4] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 162: 'There can be no doubt that the ancient wall below the surface runs several feet to the north of the north-east angle without break of any kind.'

and that then a separate City wall did run above Ḳidron below the east wall of the Temple area. Some 46 feet (14 m.) to the east of the Golden Gate of the Ḥaram wall (which is comparatively modern, but rests on an ancient Temple gateway) Sir Charles Warren came upon 'a massive masonry wall' running from south to north, but with a bend westwards; on the line, that is, of the contours round the Temple Mount up the gully which here comes into the Ḳidron: the line round which we have seen the pre-exilic wall of the City to have bent.[1] Sir Charles tried to break through this wall of massive masonry, but had to desist after penetrating for 5 feet 6 inches (1·67 m.). The stones are so far similar to the lower course seen in the Ḥaram wall near the Golden Gate, that their roughly dressed faces project about 6 inches (152·39 mm.) beyond the marginal draft, and that they are over 5 feet (1·52 m.) long and 2 feet 6 inches (·76 m.) high. The joints are about 12 inches (·30 m.) apart, and filled with stones packed in a curious cement of lime, oil and the virgin red clay of the site, still used in dressing cisterns. It is possible that this wall continues up to the surface, as immediately above it, upon the road, Sir Charles Warren found 'some large roughly bevelled stones lying on the same line.'[2] Taking all these facts into consideration, that the masonry is ancient, that it is worthy to have been part of a City wall, and that it follows the natural direction for the pre-exilic City wall, as this turned from the Ḳidron valley round the north of the Temple Mount,

East City Wall in O.T. times ran below East Wall of Temple.

[1] See above, pp. 200, 208.

[2] Abridged (except so far as the indication of its following the contour is concerned) from the *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 156-169.

we may assume, fragmentary as it is, that it represents the approach to the north-east angle of the City wall laid down above Ḳidron, but below the east Temple wall, by the Kings of Judah, and repaired by Nehemiah. We may almost dare to identify it with the wall which the Chronicler says Manasseh carried north from Ophel as far as the Fish-Gate.[1] Where on the south it left the Ophel wall (which was afterwards carried higher on the slope to join the eastern Temple wall) we cannot tell: most probably about the first ancient tower which Sir Charles Warren found south of the Ḥaram area. The theory that on the north this wall turned up out of the Ḳidron westward on the north slope of the Temple Mount and to the south of the tributary gully (crossing, as I think, the line of the present Ḥaram wall a little south of the tower called Solomon's Throne, and curving thence to the rock Antonia[2]), was first suggested to me by Mr. Sandie's volume.[3] Dr. Schick follows the same line on his Plan of 1891-2.[4] This is the natural line, and it suits the data of Pompey's assault on the Temple from the north. The only fact which leads to hesitation about it is that Sir Charles Warren concluded that the wall at the north-east angle of the Ḥaram area, that is on the north of the tributary gully, is the work of the Kings of Judah,[5] and that therefore their east wall did not turn away from Ḳidron till north of that: Sir Charles thinks it turned in near St. Stephen's Gate.[6] But this view is opposed by the almost certain fact that if not Herod then Agrippa made a northern extension of the Temple

[1] See above, p. 208.
[2] See above, p. 200 f.
[3] See above, p. 166.
[4] *Z.D.P.V.* xvii.; Plan opposite p. 1.
[5] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 324.
[6] *Ibid.* 170 f.

area, and that (this is quite certain) the Birket Israel, which now lies on the tributary gully, was not there in Pompey's time. Sir Charles Warren has himself proved that the east wall of the Ḥaram does not stop at the north-east angle, but continues several feet (at least) to the north 'without break of any kind.'[1] It seems to me that all the work here is of the Roman age, and that Colonel Conder and Dr. Schick are right in bringing[2] the wall of Agrippa round Bezetha south across the mouth of the tributary gully.[3]

East City Wall North of the Haram.

We have seen, then, that the ancient east wall of the City turned round to the north wall south of the tributary gully which enters the Ḳidron valley under the north-east angle of the Ḥaram, and that Agrippa's wall crossed the mouth of this gully to meet it just as Josephus describes.[4] Following the line of this northward from the Ḥaram, the line of the present City wall, we reach St. Stephen's Gate (*Bab Sitti Mariam*), and here meet with unmistakable proof that we have left the more ancient and frequently destroyed walls of Jerusalem behind us, and are pursuing a line of wall comparatively modern and very seldom destroyed. For while from this gate southwards to the south-east angle 'the *débris* varies in depth from 50 to

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 162; apparently 26 feet (7·92 m.).

[2] *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.' 245; *Z.D.P.V.* xvii., plan opposite p. 1.

[3] Warren found Phœnician letters in red paint (like those found near the other end of the east Ḥaram wall) on a stone below the original surface of the tributary gully some 72 feet (22 m.) south of the Tower (*P.E.F. Mem.*, 129, 141). But it is precarious to draw any inference of date from these. The old Phœnician script was in use in Israel, on coins, down to 130 A.D., and may easily have persisted also as a tradition among masons. Note the tesseræ 'similar to those supposed to be Roman,' which Warren found below a drain running along the Ḥaram wall on top of course Z (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, 186).

[4] Josephus, v. *B. J.* iv. 2.

Part of Olivet. Bezetha.

Entrance to Royal Caverns. Damascus Gate.

THE PRESENT NORTH WALL OF JERUSALEM.

Taken from el-Edhemîyeh.

Kasr Jalûd. *Plate VIII.*

over 100 feet' (15 to 30 m.), north of the gate 'there are only a few feet of *débris* and often none at all; this rather implies that to the north of this gate there has been very little destruction of old walls.'[1] At St. Stephen's Gate the present wall does not rest upon rock, but only goes for 10 feet (3·04 m.) below the surface, and then rests upon 10 feet of concrete above the rock.[2] He thinks, therefore, that St. Stephen's Gate 'may not stand upon the site of the old wall.' But the construction he has noted may be due to the haste with which Agrippa's wall was completed by the Jews after he had left it unfinished. From St. Stephen's Gate the wall runs by the east of Bezetha northwards to the Burj Laḳlaḳ, its north-east angle, with a rock-cut ditch on the outside. The ditch never went further north than this, but turns almost at right angles to the west and the wall with it.

The latter, now the north wall of the present City, runs west on a high scarp to the so-called Herod's Gate (or *Bab es-Sâhire*), west of which it recedes for a space, but its original line, to judge from ancient remains,[3] ran straight to a point above the entrance to the Royal or Cotton Grottoes (*Maghâret el Kettân*), where its foot is some 65 feet (19·8 m.) above the level of the ditch below. Between this and the Damascus Gate or Gate of the Pillars (*Bab el-'Amûd*) several courses of the ancient masonry are still *in situ*.[4] The gate is Turkish work, and bears an inscription of Suleiman the Magnificent.[5] With a mainly west-south-west direction, the wall and ditch run from the Damascus Gate up to the

The Present North City Wall.

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 170 and 160. [2] *Ibid.* 161, 170.
[3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1889, 38.
[4] Baedeker says that the Turks have modernised their appearance (104).
[5] See above, p. 184.

extreme north-west angle of the present City, and then turn sharply south-east upon Goliath's Castle (the *Ḳaṣr* or *Ḳala 'at Jalûd*). For the greater part of this stretch the present wall runs inside the line of the old wall, but follows largely the same angles as the latter.[1] Goliath's Castle is a complex of remains of a powerful fort from several periods. The rock base and part of the masonry probably represent Herod's Tower, *Psephinus*. Herr Schick would carry back part of it to at least Maccabean times,[2] but according to Sir Charles Wilson and others this part is of Crusading origin[3]—an illustration of the extreme diversity of views which it is possible for authorities to reach on the archæological and literary evidence. To the north-west of the Ḳaṣr Jalûd a line of ancient wall has been discovered coming south on the present north wall at an obtuse angle. There must have been a gate about here.[4]

Goliath's Castle.

From this point the west wall of the City, with a stretch of old wall parallel to it on the outside (which Dr. Schick attributes to Hadrian) runs south-east to the Jaffa Gate (*Bab el-Khalîl*), a Turkish structure, and south of this, till the recent gap was made in it, joined on to the present citadel of which the north-west tower was probably Herod's *Hippicus*, and the north-east certainly Herod's *Phasael*. The great outside ditch, of which there has been no trace for some time, reappears again outside the Citadel.[5] From the Citadel the wall

The present West City Wall.

[1] Schick, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1878, 16 ff.; Merrill, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, 155 ff. For discovery of part of a crypt or ancient monastery outside the wall near the Damascus Gate, see Barton, *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.*, xxii. 176 ff.

[2] *Z.D.P.V.*, 1878, 21.

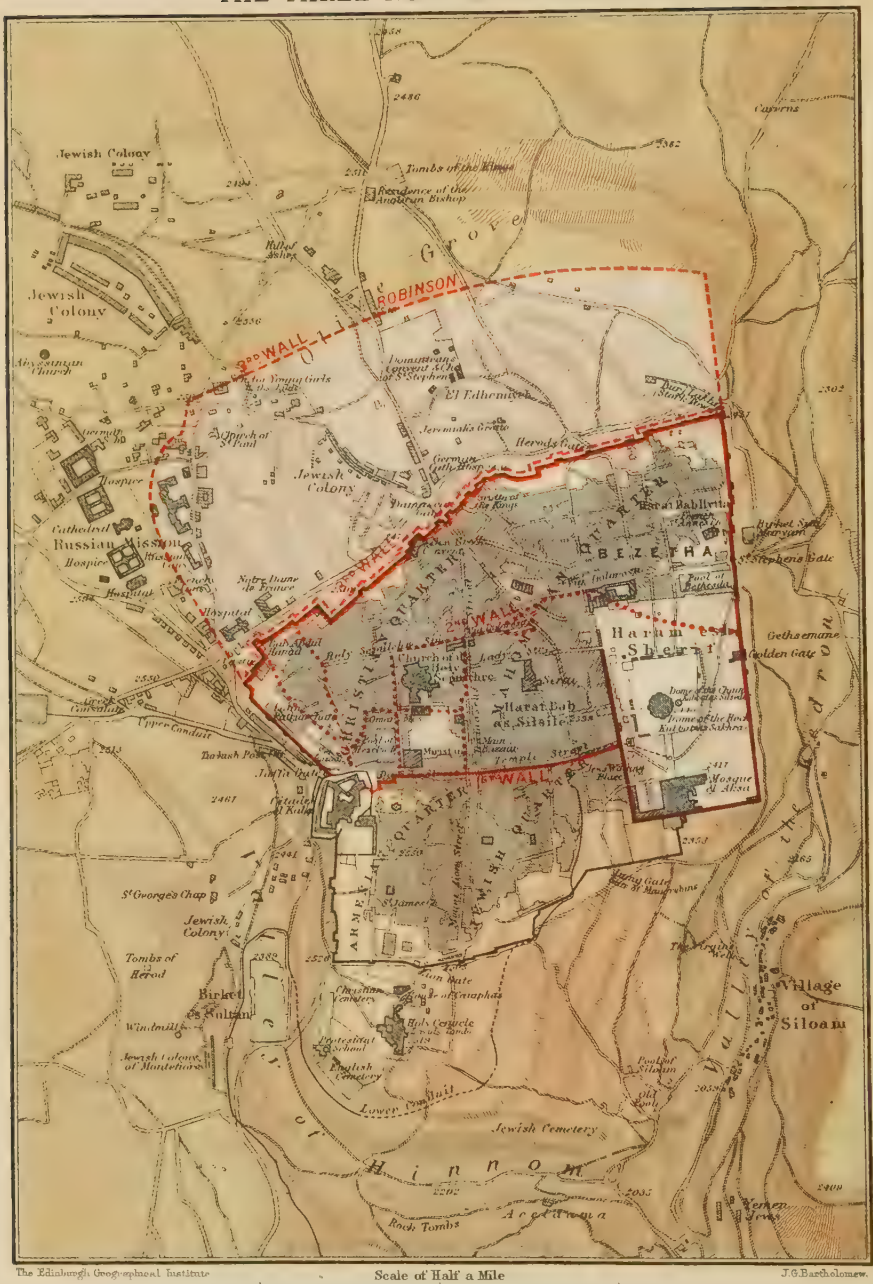
[3] *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, Notes*, 1865, 73 ff.; cf. *P.E.F. Mem.* 'Jerus.' 266.

[4] Schick, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1878, 22.

[5] For a curious theory of Uzziah's constructions on this part of the city's perimeter, see Schick, *Z.D.P.V.* xvii. 17; cf. Plan.

THE THREE NORTHERN WALLS

MAP 6



The Edinburgh Geographical Institute — J.G. Bartholomew.

1st WALL ——— 2nd WALL ..... 3rd WALL – – – –

(Alternative Lines)

London; Hodder and Stoughton.

runs on a scarp above Hinnom, till it suddenly turns from this eastwards across the South-west Hill, probably upon the direction of Hadrian's south wall. The stretch between the north-west corner of the Citadel and this point is the most ancient and constant stretch in the whole *peribolos* of the City, representing the west wall of Jerusalem perhaps as early as Solomon's time, and certainly as early as Hezekiah's, the west Hasmonean wall, the west wall of Herod's citadel and fortified palace, the west wall of the Legionary Camp and of Hadrian's Aelia, and the west wall of the city ever since through the Byzantine, Moslem and Crusading periods. From the present south-west angle the natural and more ancient line continues above Hinnom south to Maudslay's Scarp. And so we arrive again at our starting-point upon this long archæological survey of the City walls.

5. The Three North Walls.

The Three North Walls of Josephus.

We have now to examine only the remains of ancient walls within the northern section of the City, and to inquire how far they and the ancient remains we have just noted on the present encircling wall help us to determine the courses of the three north walls described by Josephus.[1] These (as has been already said) he calls the First, Second and Third, numbering them from the inmost and most southerly, the earliest continuation across the north face of the City of the wall which encircled the South-west Hill and Ophel. The Second or middle Wall started from the Gate Genath on the First, and curved to Antonia. The Third or most northerly was that begun

[1] v. *B.J.* iv. 1, 2.

by Agrippa, and finished by the Jews before the siege of Titus; it ran round Bezetha. But when Josephus is recording the advance of Titus into the City from the north, he reverses these numbers: the Third Wall he calls the First, and the First he calls the Third.[1]

The First Wall of Josephus.

Of the course of the First or most southerly of these we can have little doubt. Josephus says that it began at the tower called Hippicus,[2] probably in the north-west corner of the present Citadel, by the Jaffa Gate, and ran east, by Phasael, the present 'David's Tower,' and by the Tower Mariamne,[3] the site of which is unknown, towards the Xystos which lay in the Tyropœon, and then, joining the Boulē or Council-House, finished upon the west colonnade of the Temple. That is to say, if we add to these data those of the natural features between the present Citadel and the west Ḥaram wall (so far as they have been ascertained), the First Wall ran along the north edge of the South-west Hill above the cross-valley which declines from the Jaffa Gate into the Tyropœon,[4] and then traversed the latter to the Temple Mount and the west Temple wall. On this line several ancient remains have been found. To begin with, there is the base of Herod's Phasael, already described.[5] Some 440 feet (134 m.) farther east, on the continuation of a line drawn from Hippicus to Phasael, under the Ḥaret eḍ-Ḍawâyeh and on its north side, there is a stretch of ancient wall about 160 feet (49 m.) with two towers projecting northwards 8 feet 7 inches (2·61 m.), and having faces of 9 feet 10 inches (3 m.).[6]

[1] v. *B. J.* vi. ff. [2] *Id.* iv. 2. [3] *Id.* 3, 4.
[4] See above, p. 35. [5] See above, p. 191.
[6] *P.E.F. Mem.* 271; cf. De Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, 112 ff.

At the east end of the same street some ancient remains (often called the Gate Genath) have been proved by Sir Charles Warren to be Roman or Byzantine.[1] No further remains have been uncovered, but probably the wall crossed the Tyropœon somewhat on the line of the street Bab es-Silsile to Wilson's Arch and the other ancient remains about this.

In this First Wall there opened, according to Josephus, the Gate Genath.[2] If we knew the exact position of this Gate, many of the most difficult and unsettled points in the topography would become fixed and clear. But we do not know; and even if excavation ever becomes possible in so crowded a part of the City, it will be a piece of rare fortune to discover this Gate after the thorough destruction of the wall by Titus. Josephus mentions the Gate Genath only once as the starting-point of the Second Wall. The name, if it means Garden Gate, would be suitable for a gateway opening upon the North-west Hill outside of the Second Wall, for the ground there was unoccupied by houses. The Gate Genath has been placed by some between the towers Hippicus and Phasael, that is close to the Jaffa Gate,[3] and by others at the latter tower.[4] But Sir Charles Wilson argues that the interval between Hippicus and it must have been considerable.[5] Present theories about the position of the Gate depend entirely upon

The Gate Genath.

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 10, 274-6, with Plan; *P.E.F. Mem.* 234 f.

[2] v. *B.J.* iv. 2. Γενάθ, as though it were the Aram. Ganatha (Heb. and Talm. Heb. Gannah or Ginnah) = Garden. But the root-meaning of the word is *protection*, and this is not lightly to be excluded where the name of a gate is concerned.

[3] The earlier view and Robinson's, *B.R.* i. 461 f.; *L.B.R.* 212 ff.

[4] *Eg.* Schick, *Z.D.P.V.* xvii. 19; cf. Guthe, Hauck's *R.E.* viii. 679, line 58.

[5] *Golgotha*, etc., 128. At Hippicus there was a 'secret gate,' v. *B.J.* vi. 5.

what their authors think the course of the Second Wall to have been.

Before discussing this, the most difficult and contested line in all the topography of the City, it will be best to try to determine the line of the Third or outmost wall of Josephus. The 'beginning of it was the tower Hippicus, whence extending northwards to the tower Psephinus, it then marched down right opposite the monuments of Helena,[1] . . . and, prolonged through the Royal Caverns, bent at the corner tower beside the monument called the Fuller's, and joining the ancient *peribolos* came to an end at the ravine called Kedron. This Agrippa laid round the increase of the City, which was all unprotected; for [the City] overflowing in population, had gradually crept beyond its *periboloi*. Especially the parts to the north of the Temple towards the hill, becoming one with the City, advanced not a little till the fourth hill was surrounded with houses. This hill, which is called Bezetha, lies opposite the Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep fosse, dug on purpose to prevent the foundations of the Antonia adjacent to the hill from being easily approached from and dominated by the latter.'[2]

The Third Wall of Josephus.

In his account of the attack of Cestius on the City, Josephus calls the quarter thus enclosed by Agrippa's wall Betheza (or Bezetha), or New-City, and implies that

[1] 'The same was queen of Adiabene, daughter of King Izates.'

[2] v. *B.J.* iv. 2. I have omitted the strange meaning which Josephus gives to the name Bezetha: 'This recently built quarter is called in the vernacular Bezetha, which, if interpreted in the Greek tongue, would be called New-City.' More correctly, in ii. *B.J.* xix. 4, Josephus says that Bezetha (here in Niese's text spelt Betheza) was *also* called New-City. Bezetha cannot mean New-City: probably it stands for Beth-zaith, 'house' or 'district of olives.'

it contained the Timber-Market,[1] and in his account of the capture of it by Titus he calls it 'the northern parts' of the City. Titus, he adds, now 'camped within [the City] at the so-called "Camp of the Assyrians," having seized all the intervening parts as far as the Kedron.'[2] Also he tells us that opposite the monuments of Queen Helena there was a gate in the Third Wall beside the towers, called 'The Women's Towers.'[3] The course which Josephus describes for Agrippa's wall shows more than one remarkable correspondence to that of the present City wall round 'the north parts of the City'; and though this wall is mostly of Saracenic construction, we will keep in mind that we have seen ancient remains sometimes in its own lower courses and sometimes following a line parallel to it, a few feet to the outside.[4] Agrippa's wall ran north from Hippicus (probably the north-west tower of the modern Citadel), just as the present wall does, to Psephinus, from which it 'descended' as the present wall does from Ḳaṣr Jalûd, and was prolonged like the present wall past the Royal or Cotton Caverns to a corner tower where it turned, and arrived, just as the present wall arrives, at the ancient *peribolos* above Ḳidron, most probably on the south of the tributary gully.[5] It thus enclosed Bezetha just as the present wall does. Like other defences of the period, it had a ditch on its outer side,[6] like the present wall. There are besides the following considerations. It is unlikely that even the Herodian Jerusalem was so large as to extend beyond the present north wall of the City; as it was, there

[1] ii. *B.J.* xix. 4.
[2] v. *B.J.* vii. 2, 3 (§§ 302, 303).
[3] v. *B.J.* ii. 2.
[4] Above, p. 239 f.
[5] See above, p. 237 f.
[6] Wilson, *Golgotha*, etc., 140.

was still a great deal of vacant ground within Agrippa's wall. Moreover, it does not appear that the plateau north of the present wall was ever built upon sufficiently to justify our assuming that it formed part of the City. Compared with the soil inside the present wall, there is very little *débris*, except at isolated points, mixed with or lying over the reddish earth of the original surface of the district.[1] The many cisterns which dot the plateau on the ordnance map are not nearly so frequent as those within the City, and are to be accounted for by the custom of having cisterns in suburban gardens, or as belonging to the villas which, from Josephus's description, probably stood among the gardens to the north of Agrippa's wall.[2] Dr. Robinson, indeed, traced the course of the Third Wall from 900 to 1800 feet (274 to 548 m.) north of the present wall,[3] so as to coincide with some ancient remains which appear to have been much more numerous in Robinson's day than they are now. In 1864-5 these were investigated by the Ordnance Survey officers, with the result that in their opinion they 'could not have formed part of a wall of defence.'[4] The theory is besides opposed by the fact that the Third Wall ran 'through

[1] Cf. Kuemmel, *Materialien*, etc., 53 f.

[2] v. *B.J.* ii. 2 (gardens and hedges); iii. 2 (hedges and walls); vi. 2 (trees and suburbs); cf. vi. *B.J.* i. 1.

[3] *B.R.* i. 464 ff.; *L.B.R.* 179 f., 188, 193, and Map of Jerusalem. Robinson (*B.R.* i. 458) places Psephinus not at 'Goliath's Castle,' but from 700 to 1350 feet further north, near the east end of the present Russian cathedral. A similar extended line has been advocated by Schultz, Fergusson, Thrupp, Tobler, and recently with still more forcible arguments by Merrill. Conder, agreeing with Robinson as to the position of Psephinus, traces the Third Wall east from this, and so as to join the present City wall at the Royal Caverns. *Handbook to the Bible*, 352; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1883, 77; but cf. Hastings, *Dict. of Bible*, ii. 595. Wilson, *Golgotha*, etc., 204, states strong, and, as it appears to me, final, answers to this theory.

[4] Wilson, *Golgotha*, etc., 204. Kuemmel, *Materialien*, etc., 54, says

the Royal Caverns.' As already said, it implies an extension of the City, improbable even in the Herodian age, and for which no evidence has been found in the soil outside the present wall. On the whole, then, it appears to me that the Third Wall most probably followed the line of the present City wall.[1]

The Second or Middle Wall of Josephus.

Those who support Robinson's theory of the Third Wall as having embraced a vast portion of the northern plateau outside the present wall, suppose that the line of the Second Wall coincided, or nearly coincided, with the latter on the stretch west of the Damascus Gate, from which it ran to Antonia, either direct or over the highest point of Bezetha (as Robinson thinks).[2] As Sir Charles Wilson points out, this course is not compatible with Josephus's statement that the wall 'went up' to Antonia;[3] and, besides showing no ancient remains between the Damascus Gate and Antonia, is just there of doubtful military value. But if, as we have seen, it is probable that the Third Wall of Josephus followed the line of the present City wall, we must seek for the course of the Second Wall somewhere to the south between it and the course of the First Wall,

that it is supposed that the wall, of which there are remains, was erected by the Crusaders, and refers to *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 278; but on this page Sir Charles Warren is writing not of the remains in question, but of others at the Damascus Gate.

[1] This view is very fully argued by Sir Charles Wilson, *Golgotha*, etc., 137 ff. It is also that of Schick, *Z.D.P.V.* xvii. 87 (see Plan opposite p. 1); of Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 686, lines 58 f.; Kuemmel, *Materialien*, etc., 53, etc.; and, on the whole, Robertson Smith, *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2430. Of course, as remarked above, the original line of the wall was sometimes coincident with the present line, and sometimes lay outside, but exactly parallel to it, as proved by the ancient remains. Between Hippicus and Psephinus it may have lain inside the present wall on the line traced by Schick on his map.

[2] *L.B.R.* 217-220.

[3] *Golgotha*, etc., 128.

which we have traced from the Citadel along the north slope of the South-west Hill, and across the Tyropœon to the Ḥaram area. Josephus says, 'it took its beginning from the gate which they called Genath, on the First Wall, and encircling the northern quarter [of the City] alone it went up as far as the Antonia.'[1] That is, it must have reached the Antonia from the hollow of the Tyropœon on the west. This is all we certainly know about it; for, as we have seen, its starting-point at the Gate Genath is uncertain. Various courses have been laid out for it, of which a detailed description has lately been given by Sir Charles Wilson.[2] They depend upon their supporters' opinions of the character of lines and clumps of ancient masonry, worthy to be parts of a city wall, discovered at various points between the line of the First Wall and the latitude of Antonia. As we have seen that the character of a bit of masonry can be by itself no clue to its date; as Titus himself is said to have 'thrown down the whole northern stretch' of the wall;[3] and as this is the part of the City where there has been the most frequent destruction and rebuilding of walls both exterior and interior, and where prolonged and thorough excavation has been least possible, the most sound position to take up is that of scepticism with regard to all these remains. It would have been generally agreed that we can know but little of the course of the Second Wall after it crossed the Tyropœon from the Antonia, had not the question of the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre depended on how the wall passed from the Tyropœon to the First Wall, and where it struck the latter. More or less probable assumptions as to the line of this passage

[1] v. *B.J.* iv. 2. [2] *Golgotha*, etc., 127 ff. [3] v. *B.J.* viii. 2.

can be made from the natural lie of the rock on the North-west Hill (whose present contours, however, may not have been exactly those which shaped it in ancient times), and from the account by Josephus of the Roman assault under Titus upon the Second Wall. But on our present data it is hopeless to attempt to decide between the rival and contradictory arguments; and my own conclusion after a study of the remains, so far as they are still visible, and of the literature on the subject, is that we do not know how the Second Wall ran from the First to the Tyropœon; we do not know whether it ran inside or outside the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

CHAPTER IX

THE NAME JERUSALEM AND ITS HISTORY

THE English spelling of the name Jerusalem—which is common to many modern languages—was derived by the Authorised Version of 1611 A.D., through the Vulgate, from the Greek Ierousalem, and approximates to what was in all probability the earlier pronunciation in Hebrew, Yĕrushālēm. The Old Testament form, however, vocalises the last syllable differently: Yerushālaim. Other Semitic dialects give the type Urusalem with several modifications. And even in Greek and Latin, besides Ierousalem, there are Hierousalem, Hierusalem, Hierosolyma, and Solyma, most of which reappear in one or other of the modern European languages. The history of all these forms, along with a discussion of the questions, which is the original or nearest the original and what the derivation of the latter may be, forms the subject of the present chapter.[1]

Various forms of the Name.

[1] Of recent literature the following may be cited:—by J. Grill, *Z.A.T.W.*, 1884, 134 ff.: 'Ueber Entstehung u. Bedeutung des Namens Jerusalem' (written before the discovery of the name in the Tell el-Amarna letters, which contradicts much of the argument); by Haupt, *Götting. Gelehrt. Nachrichten*, 1883, 108, and *Isaiah*, *S.B.O.T.* (Hebrew), Excursus on אריאל, xxix. 1; by Marquart, *Z.A.T.W.*, 1888, 152; by myself, *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Jerusalem,' § 1, and *Expositor* for February 1903, 'The Name Jerusalem and other Names'; by F. Prätorius, *Z.D.M.G.* lvii. 782; and by Nestle, *Z.D.P.V.* xxvii. (1904) 153 ff.; 'Zum Namen Jerusalem.' Other relevant

In the consonantal text of the Old Testament, the Hebrew letters for the name are ירושלם Y-R-U-S[1]-L-M. The Massoretes have vocalised them as יְרוּשָׁלִַם, Yĕrûshāláim, which takes the fuller form יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם, Yerushāláyim in three late passages.[2] This (without vowels) appears on coins which belong either to the reign of Simon, 142-135 B.C., or to the Jewish revolt against Rome, 66-70 A.D.;[3] and also sometimes in the Talmudic literature.[4] The termination -aim or -ayim used to be taken as the ordinary termination of the dual of nouns, and was explained as signifying the upper and lower cities, of which Jerusalem was composed at least in the later periods of her history.[5] But either it is a mere local ending, for it appears in other place-names, in which it is not natural to conjecture a dual,[6] or a purely artificial form confined to the reading of the Scriptures and other solemn occasions. In any case Yerushalaim is a late Hebrew form, and appears in no other dialect.

The Hebrew Yerushalaim a late form.

literature will be cited in the course of this chapter, which is based on the *Expositor* article mentioned above. The forms of the name in various dialects are spelt as in my article in the *Enc. Bibl.*, of which Nestle says that, of the modern Encyclopædias, it 'geht am genauesten auf die Schreibung des Namens ein.' *Cf.* also Guthe in Hauck's *R.-E.*, viii. 673 f.

[1] Or SH.

[2] According to Baer: Jer. xxvi. 18; Esther ii. 6; 2 Chron. xxxii. 9. Other recensions of the text add two more: 1 Chron. iii. 5; 2 Chron. xxv. 1—in both of which Baer reads יְרוּשָׁלַ֫ם. The Babylonian vocalisation gives the ל with a *Pathah* (short *a*); in Codex B it has a *Seghol*, 2 Kings iv. 7. (Cf. Bleek, *Einl.*, 6th ed. 588; Nestle, *op. cit.* 154.)

[3] On these coins and the question of their date, see Bk. II. ch. ix.

[4] E.g. *Tosephta* 'Kethuboth,' 4. Usually the form is ירושלם, *Mishna* 'Zebaḥim,' xiv. 8; 'Menaḥoth,' x. 2, 5; 'Arakîn,' ix. 6, etc. etc.

[5] Gesenius, *Thesaurus s.v.*; though another explanation might be found in the legendary explanation of the name given below.

[6] Barth, *Die Nominalbildung der Semitischen Sprachen*, § 194 c. note 1.

The evidence is conclusive for an earlier and more common pronunciation, Yĕrûshālém.[1] This suits the Hebrew consonants; it is confirmed by the Septuagint and New Testament transliteration, Ierousalēm, and by the earliest appearance of the name in classic Greek;[2] it appears in the Biblical Aramaic, Yerûshlem,[3] and in the Hebrew contraction, Shālēm.[4] It must, in fact, have been the pronunciation in ordinary use; and if we could only abolish our senseless abuse of the letter *j* as a soft *g*, we might congratulate ourselves on possessing, as the French and Germans do, a close approximation to the musical Hebrew form used by prophets and psalmists.

Yĕrûshālém the original Hebrew form.

But there was another ancient form of the name, which has also had its tradition, lasting till the present day. In the Tell el-Amarna letters, written about B.C. 1400, in the Babylonian script and language, the spelling is U-ru (or Uru) -sa-lim.[5] On the Assyrian monuments of the eighth century, the transliteration is Ur-sa-li-immu.[6] This has descended through the Aramaic 'Urishlem,[7] occurring in a Nabatæan inscription discovered by Mr. Doughty not far from Hejra, in Arabia, the Mandaic

The Babylonian Form —Urusalim.

[1] יְרוּשָׁלַם.

[2] Ιερουσαλημ. See below, p. 260.

[3] יְרוּשְׁלֶם Ezra iv. 20, 24, v. 1; לֶם־, Ezra v. 14, vi. 9; Baer, ם־ throughout.

[4] Psalm lxxvi. 3; LXX. *ἐν εἰρήνῃ*; cf. Genesis xiv. 18.

[5] Berlin collection, Nos. 103, 106, 109; Winckler, *Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, 306, 312, 314; Sayce, *Records of the Past*, second series, v. 60 ff., 72 f.

[6] Delitzsch, *Par.* 288; Schrader, *C.O.T.*, ii. 214.

[7] אורשלם; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, ii. 1, 294. The exact spot is El-Mezham. The inscription is of one נתנוי = נתניה, Nethaniah, apparently a Jewish name.

Urashelam (?), the Syriac Urishlem,[1] and the Arabic Aurishalamu.[2]

There are thus in the main two lines of tradition as to the original form of the name. Since the *s* of the Babylonian is to be taken as the equivalent of the Hebrew *sh*, the difference between them is confined to the first part of the word. The question to which we have to address ourselves is: Which of the two was original? Though the distinction turns on a letter or two, it involves a matter of no little historical importance. For it opens up the larger question: Was the name of the City a native, that is a Canaanite, name, or given by the Babylonians during a period when, as we know, the Babylonian culture pervaded Palestine?

Whether the Babylonian or the Hebrew is the original?

Assyriologists take the first part of Uru-salim as meaning 'city.'[3] Sayce interprets the second part as the name of a god, and translates 'City of Salim.'[4] But the determinative for deity is wanting, and the introduction of a divine name is

Meaning of Urusalim.

[1] Mandaic, אוראשלאם; Syriac, ܐܘܪܫܠܡ.

[2] اورسلمو: this is an old Arabic form quoted by Yāḳūt (*Mu'ğam-el-Buldan*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 317) from a pre-Islamic poet. It occurs also in Idrisi: Robinson, *B.R.* i. 380. Robinson spells it Aurûshlim.

[3] 'Vielleicht': Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* 226 f. Others without any qualification: Sayce, *Records of the Past*, second series, v. 61; *Academy*, 7th February 1891; Haupt as below. Nestle, *Z.D.P.V.* xxvii. 155, gives some other references.

[4] See references in last note and compare *Early History of the Hebrews*, 28: 'The figure and name of the god Salimmu, written in cuneiform characters, are on a gem now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. The same god, under the name Shalman, is mentioned on a stela discovered at Sidon and under that of Selamanês in the inscriptions of Shêkh Barakât, north-west of Aleppo (Cl.-Ganneau, *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, cxiii. vol. ii. 36, 48; Sayce, *P.S.B.A.* xix. 2, 74).'

opposed by Dr. Zimmern,[1] who, however, elsewhere admits the possibility of it.[2] Dr. Haupt translates the name in analogy to the Arabic Dâr es Salam and Medinet es Salâm as 'Place of Safety,' 'præsidium salutis.' He recalls the term *stronghold*[3] as applied to the town in Hebrew, and compares the name of 'the southernmost Babylonian port, Bâb Salimêti, "safe entrance."' 'Urusalim is thus a compound of the Sumerian word for "fortified place," "city," and the Semitic *Shalim*, "safety." The *u* after the *r* is the Sumerian vowel of prolongation; the *i* in Urishalim (Syriac Urishlem, Arabic Aurishalamu) substitutes the *i* of the genitive as termination of the construct state, and is therefore more correct from a Semitic point of view.'[4]

This Babylonian form Urusalim or Urisalim Dr. Haupt takes to be the original name of the City, and the Hebrew Yerushalem or Irûshalim to have been derived from it either by dissimilation, that is avoidance of the repetition of the same vowel, or as a dialectic modification; *eri*, a dialectic form of *uru*, passing

The theory that Jerushalem is derived from it.

[1] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1891, p. 263. Sayce's argument that Salim is a divine name is based upon his reading *Issuppu* in l. 12 of Letter 102 (of the Berlin collection), which he renders 'prophecy' (of the mighty king); and on his rendering *Zuruh*, in ll. 14, 34 of 104, 'oracle' (of the mighty king); and on his rendering of l. 16, Letter 106, 'the temple of the god Uras (whose) name (there is) 'Salim.' But Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, reads in l. 12 of 102 (Wi. 179), Zu-ru-ukh, which both there and in ll. 14 and 34 (Wi. l. 33) of 104 (Wi. 181) Zimmern and he render 'arm': taking 'the mighty King' not as a deity, but as Pharaoh. Winckler reads, Letter 106 l. 16 (numbered by him 15) differently from Sayce: (alu) Bit-Ninib.

[2] *K.A.T.*, 3rd ed., 475.

[3] מְצוּדָה.

[4] 'From the Assyrian point of view Urusalim is less correct than Urisalem.'—Haupt; and he compares Penuel and Peniel. So also יְרוּאֵל, 2 Chron. xx. 16; יְרִיאֵל, 1 Chron. vii. 2; יְחוּאֵל, Kt. and יְחִיאֵל, Kr., 2 Chron. xxix. 14; יְעוּאֵל, 1 Chron. ix. 6; and יְעִיאֵל, 1 Chron. xv. 18.

into Hebrew as *'îr* (עיר). Similarly Dr. Nestle says: 'Since from the genealogies of Genesis I learned to equate Yaradh (ירד) with 'Iradh (עירד), I have felt disappear every objection to see in Yerushalem (ירושלם) an older Irushalem (עירושלם). If the letter 'Ayin (ע) can vanish in the middle of a word, why not also at the beginning of a name, which often enough will be spoken together with a preposition?' If these arguments be sound, the name Jerusalem was not a native or Canaanite name, but given by the Babylonians during one of the early periods of the supremacy of their arms or of their culture in Palestine. And we should have to seek for the native name of the town among such as the Stronghold, Ṣion, the 'Ophel, or Jebus.

In itself such a conclusion is by no means impossible. There is a little evidence of the impress of Babylonian names upon Palestine: for example, Nebo, Beth 'Anâth, 'Anathoth, and (according to some), even Bethlehem.[1] But this is both meagre and ambiguous, and affords no support to Dr. Haupt's theory. Indeed, if the *Bit Ninib* mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters as in the territory of Jerusalem (No. 183) be Jerusalem herself,[2] then that was the Babylonian name of the town, and Jerusalem was the native name. Nor does Dr. Haupt's theory derive support from

Supported by no external evidence and purely linguistic.

[1] Even Nebo, the most likely, is not certain, and for Bethlehem, in which one or two scholars trace the name of the god Lahmu, there is, to say the least, an equally probable etymology, *house* or *domain of bread*. It has, indeed, been argued that in a place-name compounded with Beth- and another word the latter is either a divine name or had a divine name attached to it in a fuller form of the word (G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, 127, 324). But for reasons against this argument see *The Critical Review*, 1898, 20.

[2] As Haupt himself supposes, *Joshua*, *S.B.O.T.* (Engl.) 54; though Zimmern thinks this improbable, *K.A.T.*, 3rd ed. 411 *n.* 4.

the fact of the survival of the form *Uri* in Aramean and Arabic; for such a survival only proves the derivation of these forms from the Babylonian (a derivation historically probable, as the Arameans were in close intercourse with Babylonia and carried their language far into Arabia), and does not furnish independent evidence for the originality of the Babylonian form. There is, therefore, no external or independent evidence for Dr. Haupt's conclusion, which is entirely drawn from the Babylonian language.

Linguistic objection to it.

Coming then to the linguistic evidence, we have to observe first that if the form Irushalem had been derived from Urusalim, and the equivalent in Hebrew of the Babylonian Uru be 'Ir (עיר), with an initial 'ayin, we might have expected in the Hebrew name an initial 'ayin, or at least, as in the Syriac and Arabic derivations from the Babylonian, an initial 'aleph. The absence of this seems to prove that in Irushalem or Yerushalem we have a form on another line of tradition altogether than that which the Babylonian started.

Possible alternative—Urusalim a corruption of Jerushalem.

But more important still, Dr. Haupt's hypothesis is confronted with an alternative, for which there is some evidence in other Palestine place-names. He says that the Hebrew Yerushalem (Irushalem) was produced from Urusalim either by dissimilation or, more probably, as a dialectic variety. But not only is it equally possible on phonetic grounds that Urusalim is a corruption, by assimilation of the vowels, from Yerushalem; there are, besides, actual instances of such a change in the Assyrian transliteration of the native names of other places in Palestine. For while it is true that the long, or otherwise well-marked,

vowels in such native names are correctly reproduced in the cuneiform transliterations, as in the cases of Lākhîsh, Ashdôd, Yāphô (Joppa) and Sîdôn, which in Assyrian appear as Lā-kî-s-u, As-du-du, Ya-ap-pu-[u], and Si-du-n[u], it is also very significant that when in a native name a weak vowel precedes a strong one, as in the first part of Yĕrûshālēm, it is very often in the Assyrian transliteration assimilated to the sound of the latter. Thus 'Ĕdom (אֱדוֹם) becomes U-du-um[u],[1] Pĕkôd (פְּקוֹד) Pu-kû-d[u];[2] Bĕnê-Bĕraḳ (בְּנֵי־בְרַק) Ba-na-a-a-bar-ak; and 'Ĕlul (אֱלוּל the name of the month) U-lu-l[u]. Even a long vowel is sometimes assimilated to another long one as in Môāb, which in one Assyrian form is Ma-'-aba; Ammôn (עַמּוֹן) which becomes Am-ma-n[u];[3] and the Talmudic 'Ushā (אוּשָׁא),[4] which becomes U-s-u-[u]. An instance of assimilation is also found in the Assyrian Ma-ga-du-[u] (but elsewhere Ma-gi-du-[u]) for Megiddo, and perhaps in mi-ṣir and mu-ṣur for the name of Egypt, which the Hebrew gives as Maṣôr. The last instance reminds us that in several cases the Assyrian shows a fondness for the vowel *u*, where there does not appear to have been any trace of this in the original: as in Al-ta-ḳu-[u],[5] from 'Eltĕḳēh (אֶלְתְּקֵה), and Gu-ubli,[6] from Gĕbal (גְּבָל). In face of all these—really a large proportion of the few place-names of Palestine of which we possess Assyrian forms—it is clear that Urusalim may possibly have been produced by assimilation from Yĕrû- or Iru-shalem. And this alternative to Dr. Haupt's derivation

[1] Delitzsch, *Par.* 295.
[2] The name of a tribe (Jer. l. 21; Ezek. xxiii. 23).
[3] Though in this case the native pronunciation may have been 'Ammân.
[4] Sukka, f. 20*a*. [5] Del. *Par.* 288. [6] *Ibid.* 283.

has a further superiority over the latter in that it implies for Yerushalem what we find for all but a very few and doubtful place-names in Palestine, a native origin.

What the etymology of Yerushalem may be it is almost impossible to descry. Various derivations have been suggested, some ludicrous, none satisfactory. The latter half of the word is usually taken as meaning *peace* or *security*; but while the early rabbis and earliest Christian writers interpreted the first part as *vision* or *fear*,[1] modern etymologists have been divided between *the possession* and *the foundation—of peace* or *security*.[2] The resemblance of the first part of the name, *Yĕru*, to the imperfect of the verb, and the composition of instances of the latter with a divine title in so many of the Palestinian place-names, suggests a similar derivation for Yĕrûshālem: as if it were from the verb Yarah, and should mean Shalem or Shalman, *founds*; or rather, since this meaning for *yarah* is not certainly possible, *Shalem casts the lot.* On the whole however, *shalem* is more probably a noun *peace* or an adjective *perfect* or *secure.* *Yeru* might be either a verb, *he* (the god) *casts a perfect* or *peaceful* (*lot*), or a noun, as if *secure lot.* There are, however, other alternatives. The

Suggested Derivations for Yerushalem—ancient and modern.

[1] There is one curious Rabbinic explanation in the *Midrash Bereshith Rabba*, ch. 89. Abraham called the place יִרְאֶה (Gen. xxii. 14), but Shem (*i.e.* Melchisedec) had called it שָׁלֵם (Gen. xiv.). The Almighty, unwilling to disappoint either Patriarch, gave it both names, Yireah-Shalem = Yerushalem. The numerical value of יראה and ירו is the same. In the Greek and Latin *Onomastica* (see Lagarde, *Onom. Sacra*, and Nestle, *op. cit.* 154), Jerusalem is usually explained as ὅρασις εἰρήνης, *visio pacis.*

[2] ירוש שלם, *possession of peace*, Reland and others; ירו שלם (from ירה, *to throw down*) *the foundation of peace*, Gesenius *Thes.*, Gesenius-Buhl., *Lexicon*, 12th ed. (cf. Grill, *Z. A. T. W.* iv. 134 ff.); or *the foundation of security*, Merrill, *Bibl. World*, 1899, 270.

Arabic 'Arya means *abiding, continuous*; *'iryu*, a *stable* or *stall*. And there is the common Semitic root *'ûr* or *'îr*, *to lighten*, from which we have the Hebrew *'ûr* (אור), *fire* or *hearth*, and the Arabic *'Irat*, *focus* or *hearth*, and *'awwar*, *to kindle*. The probability of this latter derivation is increased if we read (with Canon Cheyne and others) Isaiah's name for Jerusalem, 'Ariel,[1] *God's Lion*, as 'Uriel, *God's Hearth*, and suppose that the prophet formed it in analogy to the name of the City. Yerushalem would then signify *hearth of peace* or *inviolate hearth*. But all these are suppositions, none of which we have any means of proving. It is interesting that Saadya sometimes renders the name by Dār es-Salām, and sometimes by Medīnat es-Salām: the House or City of Peace.[2] Worth noticing also is the suggestion that Yerushalem was originally a personal name; as is well known, it is used as such in the present day.[3]

We have now to pursue the history of the name through Greek and Latin to the languages of modern Europe.

The Hebrew Yĕrûshālēm appears in the Alexandrian translation as Ιερουσαλημ (Ierousalēm): the constant form in all those books of the Greek canon which have been translated from the Hebrew. As in the case of so many other proper names in the Septuagint, it is an exact transliteration of the original, made before the vowel-points were inserted in the Hebrew text, and reflecting (as we have seen) the early

Ierousalēm in the Septuagint and Clearchus.

[1] xxviii. 2; אריאל.

[2] Nestle, *op. cit.* 154; cf. Medinat es-Salām, the Khalif Mansur's official name for Baghdad (Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, 129).

[3] Franz Prätorius, *Z.D.M.G.* lvii. 782, quoted by Nestle, p. 153.

and common pronunciation of the name. The earliest appearance of this form in other Greek, which I have been able to discover, is that in a passage of Clearchus of Soli,[1] a pupil of Aristotle, which is quoted by Josephus.[2] He gives it accurately, but with a Greek termination: Ierousalēm-ē. Since he says that it is 'altogether awkward' to pronounce—which he would hardly have asserted of the Hellenised form Hierosolyma—and since Josephus everywhere else uses Hierosolyma, we may be sure that in 'Ierousalēm-ē' we have the original spelling of Clearchus himself.[3] And if this be so, it is another proof of the original pronunciation of the name.[4]

In the Septuagint and the citation by Josephus from Clearchus the light breathing should probably be prefixed to Ierousalem;[5] but in any case the rough breathing came early into use: Hierousalem. This may have been originally due to an effort to express the consonantal force of the first letter;[6] but more probably arose from—and was at least confirmed by—the fashion prevalent in Western Asia from the third and second centuries B.C., of Hellenising proper names.

Hierousalem.

[1] End of the fourth and beginning of the third century B.C.

[2] *C. Apion*, i. 22: Τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν (*i.e.* οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) ὄνομα πάνυ σκολιόν ἐστιν· Ἱερουσαλήμην γὰρ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν. In the meantime the initial breathing is purposely omitted from Ιερουσαλημη.

[3] Therefore Niese's note—'suspectum'—to the reading Ιερουσαλημη (see Index to Niese's ed. of Jos. *s.v.*) is unnecessary.

[4] See above, p. 252.

[5] The edd. of the LXX. (except Swete's), and Niese's ed. of Jos., prefix the *spiritus asper*. But in his ed. of the LXX. and *Introd. to the O.T. in Greek* Swete gives the light breathing, pp. 305, 313: and so Reinach in the excerpt from Clearchus (*Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 11), but Müller (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* ii. 323) the rough.

[6] Yet initial *yod* is usually transliterated with the light breathing (*e.g.* Ἰορδάνης, Ἰησοῦς, etc.) except in such Hellenised forms as Ἱεροβοάμ, Ἱερεμιάς.

To the same source we may trace the further modification of the name into the plural noun Ἱεροσόλυμα (with or without the article), Hierosolyma. When this first appeared it is impossible to discover. The earliest, directly recorded, instances of it, so far as I can trace, belong to the first century B.C. In Maccabees ii.-iv., in which the Septuagint spelling of proper names is so often followed,[1] we find not 'Ierousalem but 'Ierosolyma; and so in the 'Letter of Aristeas'[2] (date doubtful) and in Strabo, quoting probably from an author who wrote soon after the Syrian campaign of Pompey in 63 B.C.[3] In Latin Cicero has it,[4] and subsequent writers, for example Pliny, Tacitus and Suetonius:[5] still in a plural form Hierosolyma. It was therefore in common use from the first century B.C. onwards. But it appears so uniformly in quotations from earlier Greek writers,[6] that

Hierosolyma.

[1] Swete, *Introd.* 313.

[2] Both with and without the article. See Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Introd.* pp. 525 f. In this edition of Aristeas the rough breathing is prefixed; and it is a question whether the rough breathing should not also be prefixed in Maccabees ii.-iv., as in Tischendorf's ed. Swete gives the light breathing.

[3] See Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 97. It occurs, too, in Philo (*Legat. ad Cajum*, § 23), Plutarch, and so through Appian (*Syr.* 50), Dion Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* (xxxvii. 15 f., etc.), and subsequent writers: always as a plural and generally with the article. The edd. give the rough breathing.

[4] *Pro Flacco*, c. 28 §§ 68 f.

[5] Pliny, *H.N.* v. 14 f.; Tac. *Hi.* ii. 4, v. 1; Suet. *Tit.* 5. We find it also on an inscription in the time of Claudius: [Hi]erosolymitana (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* x. No. 1971).

[6] From Hecataeus of Abdera (*c.* 300 B.C.), in a fragment of Diodorus Sic. preserved by Photius; from Manetho (third cent. B.C.) in Jos. *C. Ap.* i. 14 f.; Berosus (under Antiochus Soter, 280-261 B.C.) in Jos. *C. Ap.* i. 19; from Menander of Ephesus (probably early in second century B.C.), and Dios (?) in Jos. viii. *Ant.* v. 3, cf. *C. Ap.* i. 17; from Agatharchides of Cnidus (under Ptolemy VI., 181-146 B.C.) in Jos. *C. Ap.* i. 22; from Polybius (*c.* 210-128 B.C.) in Jos. xvi. *Ant.* iii. 3; from Timochares (probably second century B.C.); Xenophon the topographer (? before the first century B.C.), and Philo 'the Elder,' a poet—all three in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 35,

we are justified in tracing its origin to some distance behind the first century; and all the more so that the materials for its formation were present in Greek literature and were quoted in connection with the Jews as early as the fifth century B.C. Josephus, who in his Hellenic fashion constantly employs the form Hierosolyma[1]—though he must have known better—derives it more than once[2] from Solyma, that is the Salem of Melchisedec.[3] He spells it Solyma because Greek writers had already used this shorter form and found for it an etymology of their own. He quotes[4] the Greek poet Choerilos, who, he thinks, in the fifth century B.C. had spoken of the Judæan range as the 'Solyman mountains';[5] and Manetho,[6] who speaks of the Hebrews, leaving Egypt, as the Solymites.[7] It was natural for classic writers to identify this name with that of the Lycian Solymi mentioned by Homer.[8] This appears to have been the origin of the form Hierosolyma, though we cannot help wondering if its resemblance to the name of Solomon had anything to do with

36, 37, cf. 20, 24; from Posidonius of Apamea (*c.* 135-51 B.C.), in Diod. Sic. xxxiv. (preserved by Photius). The historical Greek writers quoted here are all given in Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. But the student will find more convenient the collection of these extracts, and of those of pagan Latin writers given above and below, which has been drawn up by Théod. Reinach in his useful *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, Paris, 1895.

[1] Both with and without the article: e.g. *Ant.* V. ii. 2; VII. ii. 2, iii. 2; VIII. x. 2, 4; X. vii. 1; XI. i. 1, 3, iii. 1, 10, iv. 2, v. 6, 8.

[2] I. *Ant.* x. 2: ὁ τῆς Σολυμᾶ βασιλεύς: τὴν μέντοι Σολυμᾶ ὕστερον ἐκάλεσεν Ἱεροσόλυμα. vi. *B.J.* x. 1.

[3] Gen. xiv.

[4] *C. Apion*, i. 22.

[5] Ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσιν.

[6] *C. Apion*, i. 26.

[7] Οἱ Σολυμῖται.

[8] Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 2. Jos. VII. *Ant.* iii. 2: ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀβράμου . . . Σόλυμα ἐκαλεῖτο, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτήν φασί τινες, ὅτι καὶ Ὅμηρος ταῦτ' ὠνόμασεν Ἱεροσόλυμα· τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ὠνόμασε τὰ Σόλυμα, ὃ ἐστιν ἀσφάλεια.

its rapid acceptance.[1] The form Solyma, which Josephus[2] also uses as a feminine singular (indeclinable), appears as a plural neuter in Martial,[3] and as an adjective, Solymus, in Valerius Flaccus, Statius, and Juvenal[4]—all at a time when the siege by Titus had made the name of the city very familiar throughout the Roman world. In Greek, Pausanias, in 175 A.D., also gives the form Solyma.[5]

So much, then, for the history of a false form. It is curious to observe that the one pagan writing in which the correct spelling, Ἱερουσαλήμ, is found (except the extract from Clearchus), is that ascribed, rightly or wrongly, to the pedantic Emperor Julian.[6]

Ἱερουσαλημ and Ἱεροσολυμα in the New Testament.

The New Testament employs both forms, Ἱερουσαλήμ and Ἱεροσόλυμα. The former (indeclinable) is used mostly in the writings of Luke (about twenty-seven times in the Gospel and forty in Acts, as against the use of Ἱεροσόλυμα four times in the Gospel and over twenty in Acts[7]) and Paul; also in the Apocalypse and Hebrews. Grimm[8] has suggested that it has been selected where a certain sacred significance is intended,[9] or in solemn appeals.[10] It has the article only when accompanied by an adjective.[11] The form Ἱεροσόλυμα appears as a singular feminine only once.[12] Elsewhere it is a neuter plural, as in Josephus

[1] Compare Menander of Ephesus: Σολόμων ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς; and Dios: τυραννῶν Ἰ. Σολόμων; both quoted in Jos. VIII. *Ant.* v. 3, and *C. Ap.* i. 17 f.

[2] Above, p. 262 *n.* 2. [3] *Epigram.* xi. 94 (written in 96 A.D.).

[4] Val. Flaccus (fl. 70-90 A.D.), *Argonautica*, i. 13; Statius, v. 2, 138; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 544. [5] *Perieg.* viii. 16, 4.

[6] *Epist.* 25. [7] Knowling on Acts i. 4. [8] *Lex.* s.v.

[9] Gal. iv. 25. [10] Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34. Add Luke xxiii. 28.

[11] Winer, *Gram.*, E.T., 125; yet see Acts v. 28.

[12] Matt. ii. 3. Here, as in Matt. iii. 5, it stands for the inhabitants of the city.

and Greek writers; so in all the Gospels,[1] and Acts and Galatians. It occurs only in John with the article in the oblique cases.[2] It is doubtful whether either of the two forms should have the aspirate. Blass gives it to the Greek alone; Westcott and Hort deny it to both.

Following the Greek Testament the Vulgate has both the Hebrew and Greek forms, in some codices with the aspirate, in some without: Hierusalem and Hierosolyma, Ierusalem and Ierosolyma (fem. and neut.); these continue through the Christian centuries. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux[3] and Eucherius[4] write Hierusalem; Eusebius, Ἱερουσαλημ; Jerome, Ierusalem, Iero- and Hiero-solyma (fem. and neut.: Lag. *Onom. Sacr.*); Antoninus[5] and Arculf,[6] Hierosolima; Willibald, Bernard and Theodoric,[7] Ierusalem; Chroniclers of the Crusades, Hierosolyma and Hierusalem and Ierusalem;[8] documents of the Crusades, Hierosolyma.[9] The earliest French writings have Iherusalem,[10] Jerusalem, Jerusalen, and Jerusalam.[11] Barbour's *Brus*[12] has Ierusalem, and Spenser's *Faërie Queene*,[13] Hierusalem. The English Authorised Version of 1611 has Ierusalem

Forms of the name in Christian literature.

[1] *eg.* Matt. xx. 17; xxi. 1. (?); Mark iii. 8; Luke xxiii. 7; John ii. 23, v. 2. Ιεροσολυμα always in Mk. and John.

[2] John v. 2, x. 22, xi. 18. So Winer, *op. cit.* p. 125. John v. 1 the acc. is without the article. On the whole N.T. use see Zahn, *Einl. i. d. N.T.* ii. 311.

[3] 333 A.D. [4] *c.* 427-440. [5] *c.* 570. [6] 680.

[7] Wil., *c.* 722; Bern., 867; Theod., *c.* 1172.

[8] Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos.*

[9] Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hieros.*

[10] In the *Cité de Ih.*, 1187.

[11] *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, from the end of the twelfth century; but in a revised form of somewhat later date (edited by Gaston Paris, 1897).

[12] iv. 29. [13] Bk. I. canto x. 57.

in the Old Testament and Apocrypha, but Hierusalem in the New Testament.[1]

Thus Jerusalem (with some variants) comes to be the form in the languages of Europe. Hierosolyma, and the shortened Solyma, treated now as feminine, appear occasionally in poetry and romance.

We have seen that an early Arabic form of the name was 'Aurishalamu, of which also there were abbreviations Shalamu and Shallamu.[2] The Arabs, however (as we shall see in next chapter), commonly designate the City by epithets expressive of its sanctity, el Muḳaddas, el Ḳuds, and the like. But modern Jews, Levantines, and native Christians throughout Palestine frequently use Yerusalem.[3] The Arabic forms.

[1] On the use of the name in the Latin Version of the N.T., see Wordsworth and White, *Nouum Test. . . . Latine sec. ed. S. Hieronymi*, notes to Marc. iii. 8, Luc. ii. 22, Ioh. i. 19, and Index.

[2] Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 83.

[3] *Z.D.P.V.* xvii. 257.

CHAPTER X

OTHER NAMES FOR THE CITY

FROM first to last a number of other names and epithets have been given to Jerusalem, either derived, like Jebus, from her lords previous to Israel; or like Ṣion, extended from some point within her site; or expressive of her sanctity, like the series founded on the root K-D-SH; or imposed by her conquerors, like Aelia Capitolina and its derivatives. Of one of these, Ṣion, we have already traced the progress from its original use for the citadel on the East Hill to its extension over the whole City and the sacred community.[1] The others will be described in this chapter.

Other names for the City, of various origins.

Of the first of them little requires to be said. We will discuss elsewhere the name of the Jebusite predecessors of Israel.[2] In Judges xix. 10 f., and in 1 Chronicles xi. 4 f., the name Jebus[3] is applied to the City: *the same is Jerusalem.* There is, however, no other instance of it in the Old Testament, and its appearance in these two passages has been suspected. The second is certainly late, the work of the Chronicler about 300 B.C., and there is cause to doubt the integrity of the text of the first. The town, we know, had long before the time of the Judges been called Jerusalem; and

Jebus.

[1] See above, ch. vi.

[2] See below, Bk. III. ch. i.

[3] יְבוּס, LXX. Ιεβους.

when a second name appears only in what are probably late texts, the inference is reasonable that it has been suggested by the name of the tribe which Israel found in possession of the site. At the same time, there can be no doubt about the Jebusites themselves—they are accredited by every line of the Hebrew tradition—nor that they held a certain amount of territory round their fortress. To this territory the name Jebus may easily have been given in the common speech both of the Canaanites and the Hebrews; and it would be rash to assert that it was never used of the town, and is only a late and artificial suggestion. In such uncertainty we must leave the question.[1]

Another possibly mistaken application of an ancient name to Jerusalem may be mentioned here. The chronicler calls the Temple Hill, *Mount of the Moriah, where a vision was made unto David*[2] (?). Josephus identifies it with the place in *the land of the Moriah*,[3] where Abraham prepared to sacrifice Isaac,[4] and this was also a Rabbinic tradition.[5] Accordingly Mount Moriah has become a usual name among both Jews and Christians for at least the East Hill of Jerusalem. But, in the first place, Abraham's *land of the Moriah* (if that be the proper reading, which is doubtful)[6] is unknown, the identification of it with the Temple Mount is very

Mount Moriah.

[1] See G. F. Moore, *Judges* (*International Critical Commentary*), 1895; K. Budde, *Das Buch der Richter* (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar*), 1897; S. R. Driver, 'Jebus,' in Hastings's *D.B.*; G. A. Smith, *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2416; H. Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 638.

[2] 2 Chron. iii. 1: הַר הַמֹּרִיָּה אֲשֶׁר נִרְאָה לְדָוִיד.

[3] Gen. xxii. 2.

[4] Josephus, i. *Ant.* xiii. 1, 2: τὸ Μώριον ὄρος.

[5] Levy, *Neuhebr, u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, iii. 58; *Bereshith Rabbath.*

[6] See Driver's *Genesis.*

late, being ignored even by the Chronicler; and the Chronicler's own use of the name, to which he gives another origin, is also late and unsupported by any earlier passage in the Old Testament. Whatever place it belongs to, the name probably has nothing to do with vision.

Next in order we may conveniently refer to two foreign designations, both by conquerors of Judah. At the head of the list which Shishak[1] gives of the cities he took in Judah, stands the name *Rabbat*, with which some have suitably identified Jerusalem;[2] for the word means 'chief town' or 'capital.' And by the time that the Israelite territory had so shrunk as to become the mere suburbs of Jerusalem, Asarhaddon called Manasseh king not of the land, but of *the City, of Judah*.[3]

Rabbat (?) and the City of Judah.

A number of names and epithets given by the Prophets and Psalmists may now be mentioned. Isaiah addresses Jerusalem as *'Ariel*,[4] which as it stands may mean *The Lion of God*, and is often so translated. But as in Ezekiel the same word is used for *the altar-hearth*,[5] and as Isaiah himself speaks elsewhere of God having *a fire in Ṣion* and *a furnace in Jerusalem*,[6] and in his inaugural vision beheld the Divine Presence above the burning altar of the Temple, it is more probable

O.T. Epithets: Ariel.

[1] See below, Bk. III. ch. iv.

[2] Sayce, *Academy*, 1891, Feb. 4 and 28.

[3] *Records of the Past*, cf. 2 Chron. xxv. 28; the parallel passage, 2 Kings xiv. 28, has *city of David*.

[4] xxix. i.: אֲרִיאֵל, Ἀριήλ.

[5] Ezek. xliii. 15 f. (Kethibh); cf. אראל on the Moabite stone, lines 12, 17. Cf. above on the Arabic 'Irat or 'Iryat='hearth,' p. 259.

[6] xxxi. 9, unless, as some think, this is a later addition.

that the name means *the hearth of God*. The Hebrew *Bath* or *Daughter* is often applied to the population of a town or country, and in this sense we are to take as names of Jerusalem the following: *Daughter of Ṣion*,[1] *Daughter of Jerusalem*,[2] *Daughter of my people*,[3] *Virgin daughter of Ṣion*.[4] Also it is called *The City of Righteousness* by Isaiah,[5] and by the Psalms *The City of God*, or *of our God*, or *of Jahweh of Hosts*, or *of the Great King*.[6]

Daughter of Ṣion, etc.

City of Righteousness and of God.

By the time of the Exile Jerusalem had come to be known among her people as *The City*, in distinction from *The Land*;[7] and this is usual also in the Mishna. It is significant of the growth of her importance both material and spiritual, and of the absence of other cities in the rest of the now much diminished territory. Townships there were, and not a few fenced ones; but Jerusalem stood supreme and alone as The City.

The City.

In Deuteronomy Jerusalem is not named, but frequently implied as *the place where Jahweh will cause His Name to dwell*.[8] This concentration of the national worship upon her Temple, preceded as it had been by Isaiah's visions of the divine presence, and his declaration of God's purposes for His

The Holy City 'Ir haḳ-Ḳodesh.

[1] Lam. ii. 1; iv. 22; Isa. lii. 2, etc. On this name see above, pp. 148 ff.
[2] Isa. xxxvii. 22; Lam. ii. 13, 15, etc.
[3] Lam. iv. 6.
[4] Isa. xxxvii. 22; Lam. ii. 13.
[5] i. 26.
[6] Psa. xlvi. 4; xlviii. 1, 2, 8 (the references are to the English Bible); cf. Isa. lx. 14.
[7] Ezek. vii. 23; Jer. xxxii. 24 f.; Ps. lxxii. 16 (*they of the City*)—הָעִיר; Isa. lxvi. 6 (עִיר).
[8] Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 7: *dwelling-place of Thy Name*.

inviolable shrine, led to the name *The Holy City*, *'Ir haḳ-Ḳōdesh*[1] (compare *My Holy Mount*[2]); and from this has started the long series of names meaning the same in many languages, which has continued to the present day. On the coins which are variously assigned to Simon Maccabaeus and to the First Jewish Revolt (66-70 A.D.), the legend is *Yerushalaim Ḳĕdoshah*, or *Haḳ-Ḳedoshah*, Jerusalem the Holy. Matthew twice calls it Ἡ Ἁγία Πόλις[3]—so still in the Mosaic Map of Medeba (sixth Christian century). Philo has Ἱερόπολις,[4] a form which suggests the origin of the form Ἱεροσόλυμα (with the rough breathing).[5] So in Arabic the commonest designation is derived from the same Semitic root for *holy*, Ḳ-D-S. It appears in various forms *Bêt el-Maḳdis*, 'domain or place of the Sanctuary'; *el Muḳaddas* or *el Muḳaddis*, 'the Holy';[6] or (in the modern vernacular) *el-Ḳuds esh-Sherîf*, or more briefly *El-Ḳuds*, 'The Sanctuary.' In the East this is by far the commonest name to-day.[7] The suggestion made by M. Clermont-Ganneau[8] that el-Muḳaddas or el-Ḳuds betrays a reminiscence of a dedication of the sanctuary at Jerusalem to a Canaanite deity Ḳadish is interesting, but there is no evidence for it. And the derivation of the name from the immemorial sanctity of the City is sufficient.

el-Muḳaddas el-Ḳuds.

To complete this list of names we may add, though it really lies beyond our period, the name imposed on

[1] Isa. xlviii. 2; lii. 1; Neh. xi. 1; cf. Dan. ix. 24.
[2] Joel ii. 1.
[3] Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53.
[4] *In Flaccum*, § 7.
[5] See above, pp. 261 ff.
[6] Yaḳut, iv. 590; Taj el 'Arus, iv. 214.
[7] Cf. the Syriac *Ḳudsch*, *Ḳûdusch*, or *Ḳudúsch*.
[8] *Archæo. Researches in Palestine*, i. 186.

Jerusalem by her Roman conquerors. When the Emperor Hadrian destroyed so much of the City and gave her another shape than that of her native growth, he strove also to destroy the native name by substituting *Aelia Capitolina*.[1] Till the time of Constantine, and for at least two centuries later, *Aelia* remained the official name[2] and usual geographical designation;[3] was still longer continued in Christian writings;[4] and even passed over into Arabic as *'Iliya*.[5] From the other part of Hadrian's name came Ptolemy's Καπιτολίας.

Aelia Capitolina, Kapitolias, 'Iliya.

[1] Dion Cassius, lxix. 12. On the coins of Hadrian (and his successors down to Valerian) bearing the legend Col[onia] Ael[ia] Kapit[olina] and the like, see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, ed. 1903, ch. xi. Aelia was from Hadrian's own family name, Capitolina from Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom he erected a temple on the site of the Jewish Temple.

[2] *e.g.* in Canons of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, vii.; and in Acts of Synod held in Jerusalem, A.D. 536 (cited by Robinson, *B.R.* ii. 9).

[3] *Onomasticon*; Eusebius, Αἰλία; Jerome, Aelia.

[4] *E.g.* Adamnanus, *De Locis Sanctis*, i. 21.

[5] Yaḳut, iv. 592.

BOOK II

THE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

CHAPTER I

A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

AMONG the countless questions raised by the history of Jerusalem—the appearance and persistence of such a city on exactly such a site—none are more radical or pertinent to all the rest than those of her material resources and economy, the area of her supplies and the methods of her finance. How was the City fed? What were the extent and character of her own fields, woods, quarries and supplies of clay? Where were her markets, what her exports and imports? What purchasing-power had her government and her citizens respectively? What taxes did the former draw? On what industries did the latter depend?

The usual economic problems of a city.

The importance of such questions, obvious as it is in the history of every city, is intensified in the case of Jerusalem by the peculiarities of her political and religious development. At first merely one of several highland towns, with her own chief, and possessed of a limited area of the surrounding country, in these conditions her economy is easy to understand. The primitive Jerusalem fed herself from her own fields, and by the petty trade which she

Peculiarly intensified by the religious history of Jerusalem.

conducted with her neighbours and with the great centres of civilisation, whose caravans passed to and fro upon the plains about a day's journey from her gates. When she became the capital of a considerable kingdom, with a court and standing army, she commanded at the same time a wider area of resources from which these might be easily sustained. But when in the course of time, from being but one of several shrines of her people, Jerusalem was elevated to the rank of the only altar at which their sacrifices were lawful and the nation periodically assembled for worship, then the problems of her economy were aggravated to an intensity experienced by hardly any other city in the ancient world. For, situated as she was in a district comparatively poor and with a limited water supply, Jerusalem had not only to provide for a large permanent priesthood and their servants, but thrice a year also entertained great crowds of pilgrims. In these circumstances, how were her finances regulated, and whence did she draw provision both for so numerous a non-productive population and for the temporary but immense additions to it caused by the Temple festivals? Altogether the economic questions are among the most important in the history of Jerusalem. They not only form the standing physical problem of that history—the survival of so large a city upon a site economically so unfavourable—but they penetrate everywhere the subject of her religion. They form the texts of the most ethical discourses of the prophets. They are closely entangled with the organisation of the priesthood and with the whole system of the national worship.

For answers to these questions the Bible contains no little amount of material. Some of this, relevant to the

support of the monarchy and of the priesthood, is carefully stated in the legal codes of the Old Testament. The rest, referring to the more fundamental matters of the natural resources of the City, the people's foods, trades, industries and finance, is given incidentally in the historical and prophetic literature. To the former the Talmud contributes much elucidation of detail; upon the latter the information of Josephus is a little more generous than that of the Bible, and there is something to be gleaned from the Greek and Latin geographers and the accounts of the imperial administration. But, because till a few years ago the economy of the City had very little changed, we may illustrate and supplement the information from all these sources by data derived from the works of the Arab geographers; from the charters and laws of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem; from the reports of modern pilgrims and travellers; and from the present systems of land-tenure, cultivation and taxes. Through all the ages to which these sources of information belong, the political and religious ideals of Jerusalem have profoundly altered; but the physical conditions of her life, very much of the economy of her citizens, and in consequence the fiscal measures of her governments, have remained substantially the same as in Biblical times. It is remarkable, for instance, how much of the system of land-tenure which prevails under the Turkish government resembles, and may be used to illustrate, the fragmentary notices of the disposition and inheritance of the soil which we find in the Old Testament.

The sources of our information.

Before we start upon the details of our inquiry, it may be well to add to our statement of the economic questions

particular to Jerusalem a general description of the main stages of economic development through which the people of Israel as a whole passed, during those periods of their capital's history with which we have to deal. Like all the Semites who preceded and followed them, Israel entered their Promised Land as a pastoral or nomad people, with the family or the tribe as the social unit.[1] Gradually they exchanged their pastoral and nomadic habits for those of agriculture. They settled in villages and townships to the cultivation of definite areas of soil, surrounded by almost equally definite areas of uncultivated land on which they pastured their flocks. We must keep in mind, however, that the agriculture on which Israel entered was not that of a virgin soil. They found the country already richly cultivated, and succeeded not only to the inheritance of *goodly towns which they did not build, full of all good things which they filled not, of cisterns which they did not hew, of vineyards and olive trees which they did not plant*,[2] but to all the habits and tempers of this long-established civilisation. More or less gradually they became absorbed in a life mainly agricultural indeed, but already permeated by the influences of commerce and partly moulded by the forces of an ancient and pervasive system of culture, the Babylonian, which had long ago passed the merely agricultural stage and was imposing upon the peoples of Syria the tempers, if not

The general economic development of Israel.

[1] It must be kept in mind that the tribe was seldom a *pure* one, *i.e.* consisting only of individuals and families all descended from a common ancestor. There were numerous amalgamations of families descended from different stocks; and grafts, more or less artificial, of individuals or families upon tribes to which by blood they did not belong.

[2] Deut. vi. 10 f.

also some of the institutions, of its civic and imperial economy. Under all these influences, the ancient Hebrew constitution slowly altered. The tribe was replaced by the village or township; the social principle of kinship was crossed and broken by that of neighbourhood. In the sparseness of the information which the Old Testament affords, and the difficulty of dating much of it, a complete understanding of the system of land-tenure in Israel is impossible to us; but some light is reflected from the methods prevalent to-day. On the one hand we have clear testimony to the existence of private or family property in land (or at least in the fruits of definite areas of the soil), and to the tenacity with which the piety of the individual, the urgency of the prophets, and the skill of the great law-codes sought to preserve to each family its ancestral estates.[1] On the other hand, there is evidence of the existence of communal or village property in land, the rights to the tillage of which were disposed among individuals or families by lot; but it is not clear whether this evidence is proof of the continuance of the custom throughout the later ages of Israel's history, or is only the memory that such had been the form of land-tenure

[1] 1 Kings xxi. 3; Ruth iv.; Jeremiah xxxii. 6 ff.; 1 Kings iv. 25 and Micah iv. 4; Isaiah v. 8 ff.; Micah ii. 1 ff. The earliest code, the Book of the Covenant, Exodus xxi. ff., which plainly reflects the agricultural state of life, does not make it clear whether private property, which it implies in the rights of pasture and tillage and in the fruits of the land, extends to the soil itself. Deut. xix. 14 (cf. xxvii. 17) forbids the removal of landmarks *which they of old have set*: a remark which implies that at least the rights to cultivate certain fields descended from generation to generation in the same family. In the Priestly Code the preservation of landed estates in the same family is provided for by the rule that even daughters may succeed to it (Numb. xxvii. 1-11); and the inalienableness of land is further emphasised in Lev. xxv. 23 f.: *the land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine.*

in the earliest times.[1] To-day both systems prevail. Lands, which are not devoted to the purposes of religion, are of two classes. First, they may be *mulk*, 'governed' or 'owned,' that is 'real or freehold property, . . . lands generally in close proximity to, if they do not immediately surround, a village or town, and almost invariably used as gardens and orchards.' Or, second, they are *amîriyeh*, 'Amîr's' or 'government land,' belonging to the Imperial State, but held in common by all the members of the village or community, and called *Arâdi Mashâ'a* or 'undivided lands,' the tillage rights of which are annually apportioned by lot among the village families: 'these lands are invariably arable.' It may be that the double evidence of the Old Testament, which we have quoted above, is to be explained by some similar arrangement.[2] Besides these two kinds of land there are to-day the *Wâḳuf* or *Waḳf*, 'stopped' or 'inalienable,' lands devoted by gift or will to the maintenance of a mosque or religious institution; the like of which existed, as we shall see, in Old Testament times, and had an important influence on the economy of the capital and its Temple. To return to the other two kinds in Israel—the tenacity of the system under which lands were family property, either through freehold possession and right of

[1] Micah ii. 5; Jer. xxxvii. 12; Ps. xvi. 5-6; Josh. xv.-xix., xxi.; Ps. cxxv. 3; 1 Chron. vi. 55, etc. All of these passages imply the division of land by lot, but whether as a custom in the writer's own time, or as metaphor reminiscent of an ancient custom, is uncertain.

[2] The whole subject lies outside the scope of our present task, and therefore I give only the outlines. For the details see two papers on the Turkish system by Bergheim in the *P.E.F.Q.*, 1894, 191 ff. (from which come the extracts in the text above), and by Graf Mülinen in *Z.D.P.V.* xxiii. 159 ff.; Fenton, *Early Hebr. Life*, §§ 17-20; Buhl, *Die Soc. Verhältn. der Israeliten*, 55 ff.; *Z.D.P.V.* xxx. 152, 207, describes the sale of village lands to individuals and corporations.

inheritance or by lot as part of the communal or village property, gradually yielded to or was ruptured by the passage of Israel from a purely agricultural economy to one that was increasingly commercial. The prophets of the eighth century complain of the loss of their estates by the old yeoman families of the country to rich men, who were no doubt produced by the growth of trade, the increase of taxation, and the consequent necessity of mortgaging land: *ye who range homestead on homestead and lay field to field, till no place is left*, that is for the independent yeomen, *and ye be the sole householders in the midst of the land*.[1] We shall see how the capital, which was Jerusalem, thus grew at the expense of the provinces, in spite of the laws specially framed by the latest code to counteract the tendency;[2] and how the agricultural conditions of the people became subordinated, for good and evil, to a centralising policy and a civic economy. The rural militia upon which the national defence had rested in earlier days were reinforced under the monarchy by a standing army of mercenaries, always in Eastern states the result of a growth of commerce;[3] and the king, imitating in this and other ways foreign examples, grievously increased the people's taxes. Finally, there fell upon Israel the dominion of the great empires, which imposed their own fiscal measures, and in some cases their own system of conveying and registering landed estates.[4] The Imperial authorities frequently farmed out

[1] Isa. v. 8 (the verse is elliptic, but the above appears to be the proper meaning of it): cf. Micah ii. 1 ff. For modern instances, *Z.D.P.V.* xxx. 152, 207.

[2] See above, p. 279 *n.* 1.

[3] See the author's article, 'Trade and Commerce,' in the *Enc. Bibl.* §§ 11, 48, 63 *n.* 1, 66, 75 *n.* 2, for instances of this.

[4] See below in Bk. iii., the chapter on Manasseh's reign.

the taxes to native Israelites, and thus in the latest periods we meet with a class of *publicans*, whose existence had, as we shall see, serious economic and political effects upon the character of the capital and the life of the country as a whole.

Having thus made clear the general lines of Israel's economic development, in addition to the particular problems of the economic history of Jerusalem, we may now pass to a detailed account of the latter from the earliest times up to the end of the Biblical period, illustrating it as far as is possible from the later sources of information indicated above.

CHAPTER II

THE ETHNIC AND ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF JERUSALEM

SEVERAL years ago, in caves of the Lebanon, there were discovered some remains of primæval men using stone implements and hunting a fauna which has long disappeared from Palestine.[1] More recently Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister has unearthed at Gezer the remains of another and much later race (for the only animal fragments found among them are those of animals of the present epoch), but also cave-dwellers, without metals and using only stone implements. The men were remarkably smaller than their Semitic successors. Mr. Macalister assigns them to a date 'not much later than 3000 B.C.,' and suggests a possible identification of them with the Horim, usually translated *Cave-men*, whom Hebrew traditions place in Eastern Palestine and Edom prior to the immigration of the Semites.[2] 'For perhaps five hundred years this primitive race occupied the hill'; then came the great Semitic invasion of Syria and Babylonia, to which archæologists give the name of Amorite or Canaanite. With this we

The Stone Age in Palestine.

[1] Dawson, *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, ch. iii., 1888.

[2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, 347 ff.; 1903, 13, 20 ff.; 1904, 107 ff. *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), 25 f. and ch. iii.

find, though stone implements continue to be used, the first introduction of metals. We may, therefore, provisionally conclude that before the Semitic immigrations Palestine had, as a part at least of its population, some of the races known as Palæolithic and Neolithic: the latter short of stature, living in caves, and using the surface rocks and caves (as Mr. Macalister has shown) as their sanctuaries; cremating their dead; unused to metals, and employing only stone implements.[1] Whether they were the same as the Biblical Horim seems to me doubtful.

Probable Stone-age Remains at Jerusalem.

Remains of these races have been found at Jerusalem. A great many cave-dwellings have been uncovered both on the East and West Hills of the City's site, and under the village of Silwân.[2] But the use of caves for dwellings lasted to a late period in the history of Jerusalem, and nothing (so far as I know) has yet been discovered in the layers of their floors which gives proof of their use in the Stone-age. Round the City, however, large numbers of flints have been picked up, rudely shaped as weapons.[3] From these and other specimens Father Germer-Durand has formed and classified a collection of over five thousand pieces in the museum of Notre-Dame de France, which represents virtually every distinguishable phase of the Stone-age. Among them are the 'chipped flints,' or flints shaped entirely by

[1] On the subject of the Semitic migrations see Winckler, *Die Völker Vorderasiens* (in *Der Alte Orient*, vol. i. Heft 1); Paton, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine*, ch. i.

[2] See Dr. Guthe on his excavations on Ophel, *Z.D.P.V.* v.; Cl.-Ganneau on ancient caves on the South-west Hill, *Arch. Res.* i. 291 ff.

[3] Germer-Durand, 'L'Age de Pierre en Palestine' in the *Rev. Bib.* 1897, 439 ff.; cf. *Actes du IIe Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes*, 'Ethnogr. de l'Orient,' 276 ff. For other sites see Bliss and Macalister, *Excav. in Pal.* 26, 142 ff., pl. 71; cf. Blanckenhorn, *Z. f. Ethn.* 1905, 447 (not seen); Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (1907), ch. vi.

chipping, which, in distinction to 'flaked flints,' archæologists recognise as dating from a more remote antiquity. On the back of the Olivet range, about two hundred metres east of Râs el-Meshâref, M. Clermont-Ganneau reports 'a prodigious quantity of flint chips,' evidently broken from a reef a few steps off. He found among them no perfect specimen of chipped flint, but numbers 'which seemed to have been roughed out and prepared; others again seemed to have been begun and then thrown away'; and he thinks 'there must have been a workshop for chipped flints in this place.'[1] In all probability, therefore, the first settlements at Jerusalem were of Stone-age men, inhabiting caves, somewhere on the banks of the Ḳidron valley as the position nearest to the natural water-supply.

The Semitic Settlements.

This race was succeeded in Palestine, as we have seen, somewhere about 2500 B.C., by Semites,[2] men of a higher economy, at first inhabiting tents and occupied with the rearing of sheep and cattle, but after they swarmed from Arabia into Palestine, settling down to agriculture and building. Whether in the east or the west, the earliest towns—as the Biblical story of Cain reminds us—were the foundation not of shepherds, nomads content with easily shifted camps, but of husbandmen who had settled to the cultivation of a definite area of soil. These, after a period of alternating between summer tents and winter caves or huts, built themselves (often with the help of the caves) permanent dwellings of stone or clay, and fortified their settlement first with a tower and then with a rampart. In describing this

[1] *Arch. Res.* i. 273 ff: 'Rujûm el B'hîmeh.'

[2] We need not here discuss the question whether there was an earlier Semitic invasion of Palestine, corresponding to that of Babylonia in the fourth mill. B.C.

process we are not left to imagination. Through all but its latest stage of wall it is pursued at the present day upon Moab and other frontiers of the desert by the same race to which the earliest historical inhabitants of Jerusalem belonged. Thus at 'Arak el-Emîr, in April 1904, I found the son of a pure Bedawee tent-dweller, who told me that his family had begun to cultivate the soil three generations before. His father left off tent-dwelling in winter, and before he died had charged the son to build from the ancient ruins of the place a permanent house of stone, which the latter was now doing. Other instances of the kind I found the same year in Moab, as I had found them in 1891 in Southern Judæa and in Ḥauran.[1]

The first fortification which the converted nomad builds for his new settlement, often before he has abandoned his tents, is a tower: there is no better or more universal refuge in Western Asia against the sudden desert razzias.[2] There are towers in Northern Moab built to protect their grain by the 'Adwân, who are otherwise content with 'their houses of hair.' When Uzziah sought the protection of his shepherds as well as his trade roads to Elath, he built towers in the southern desert.[3] We may,

[1] For another instance of the transition see Libbey and Hoskins, *The Jordan Valley and Petra*, ii. 19: 'The inhabitants [of Tafileh] are nearly all in the middle stage between dwellers in tents and dwellers in cities.' Cf. *H.G.H.L.* p. 10; and see also for Ḥauran, *Z.D.P.V.* xx. 96 f., and *M.u.N.D.P.V.*, 1900, 69; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria, etc.*, on Kerak, 387, for the Jôf in Arabia, App. iv. p. 663; for Carmel see *Z.D.P.V.* xxx. 151.

[2] Cf. 2 Chron. xx. 24, and Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 13: 'The tower was always the hope of this insecure Semitic world'; 285: 'Every well-faring person, when he had fortified his palms with a high claybrick wall, built his tower upon it. . . . In the Gospel parables, when one had planted a vineyard, he built a tower therein to keep it. The watch-tower in the orchard is yet seen upon all desert borders.'

[3] See below, Bk. III., under Uzziah.

therefore, conclude that the earliest strong building erected by the Semites who first settled in Jerusalem was a tower. Of this we find a symbol, if not the actual echo, in the name by which a prophet calls the city long after, *Migdal 'Eder, the Tower of the Flock.*[1] But in time the tower would have a wall attached to it running round the rough dwellings of the community, and the primitive village would become a town. This would stand upon some small ridge or knoll within easy reach of the water sources in the valley of the Ḳidron and elsewhere. I have given reasons for supposing that the ridge or knoll must have been Ophel, above the present Virgin's Spring.[2] Indeed the prophet we have quoted identifies *the Tower of the Flock* with *the 'Ophel of the daughter of Sion.*

[1] Micah iv. 8; cf. Gen. xxxv. 21.

[2] See above, pp. 138 ff.

CHAPTER III

THE CITY LANDS

THE village or town, whose economic development we have sought to sketch in the preceding chapter, had a territory, which its inhabitants cultivated and upon which they pastured their cattle. The size of this territory varied, of course, with the political influence of the town, and with the different economic processes which developed among the inhabitants. At first the territory of Jerusalem would be small, not more than four or five square miles, if we may reckon by the neighbouring villages, which we have no reason to presume were less ancient than what afterwards became their metropolis. But when the site was fortified, being much stronger and almost as well watered as any other within a radius of six or eight miles, the area possessed or controlled by Jerusalem would substantially increase, the villages upon it becoming in the Biblical phrase *her daughters*,[1] and contributing to her supplies. The Tell el-Amarna letters of 1400 B.C. state that the chief of Jerusalem had lands and a territory, but unfortunately they do not provide data from which we might reckon even the approximate extent of his domains.[2] That chief acknowledges that he held his lands on no hereditary right, but by direct gift of the King of Egypt, to whom he paid

The Territory of the City.

[1] Num. xxi. 25, 32; xxxii. 42; Josh. xvii. 11; 2 Sam. xx. 19, etc.

[2] See below, Bk. III. ch. i.

tribute. It is of interest that the only form of tribute which he mentions is slaves: nothing is said as to the fruits of the soil. How the chief allotted the rights of tillage among his people, or whether the fruit-trees were private property, we do not know. The pasture-grounds were probably common; but the construction of cisterns by individuals or families would naturally lead to an exclusive use of certain stretches of pasture. In the East, property in water is of far more importance, and probably of earlier origin, than property in land.[1] In the environs of Jerusalem there are numerous cisterns where nothing but pasture could ever have been possible.

It is most convenient to give here the Old Testament data relevant to the territory or 'liberties' of a town. The references chiefly belong to the latest post-exilic writings and to ideal arrangements for the land, which were perhaps never actually carried out. We must, therefore, beware of transferring their definiteness to the much earlier period of which we are now treating, or indeed to any actual stage of the economic life of Palestine.[2] Still they reflect certain principles which had probably always prevailed, and the terminology of the subject which they include is un-

O.T. data as to suburban territories.

[1] As Robertson Smith has pointed out, *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed. 104 f.

[2] Cl.-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* ii. 270, points out the remarkable similarity between the dimensions of the *migrash* or *suburbs* of the Levitical towns, with rights of refuge, and the figure formed by the four boundary stones discovered by him round Gezer. But, in the first place, it is doubtful whether the interpretation that he gives of Num. xxxv. 2-5 in which the *migrash* is defined is correct; and *secondly*, the Gezer instance of boundary stones is the only one yet discovered, and is not earlier than the Hasmonean kingdom.

doubtedly more ancient than the documents themselves. The Old Testament, then, implies that every town had its surrounding territory, its liberties—*suburbs*, as our version calls them—and we may assume that they consisted of two classes: arable fields or gardens, and pasture-lands. For these the Old Testament has, in addition to several general terms, two more or less definite names, *migrash* and *sadeh*, or *sadai*, both of them used also in the plural, *migrashîm* and *sadôth*.

1. The Migrash.

The most obvious derivation of *migrash* or *migrashîm*, rendered 'suburbs' by the English version, is from *garash*, 'to drive forth.'[1] In that case the term would mean originally *pasture-land*; and indeed it is expressly said that the *migrashîm* of certain cities are to be assigned to the Levites *for their cattle and their substance and all their beasts*.[2] But the *migrash* also included cultivable fields.[3] By Ezekiel the name is applied to that part of the land common to the city, which he distinguishes from the *môshab* or *inhabited* part,[4] but also to the open space round the Temple.[5] From the law that the *migrashîm* assigned to the Levites were not to be sold,[6] we may infer that (at

[1] מִגְרָשׁ from גָּרַשׁ, just like מִדְבָּר from דָּבַר, also to *drive* or *lead forth*, with which is usually compared the German *Trift*, as if from *treiben*. The Arabic term corresponding to *garash* appears to be *gashar*, 'to send out the cattle to pasture so that they shall not return at evening,' and in another form 'to lead cattle to pasture'; *gishshâr* is 'the overseer of a meadow in which horses feed,' etc. (Freytag): cf. Barth, *Etym. Stud.* 47. For another derivation see Cheyne, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, July 1898, 566.

[2] Num. xxxv. 3; cf. 1 Chron. v. 16.

[3] 2 Chron. xxxi. 19, שְׂדֵי מִגְרַשׁ עָרֵיהֶם, where the plural שְׂדֵי cannot have any meaning but *fields* for cultivation: see next page.

[4] Ezek. xlviii. 15.

[5] Ezek. xlv. 2.

[6] Lev. xxv. 34. The same law holds good of the modern *Wâḳuf*, or lands held for religious purposes. See above, p. 280.

least in later times) the *migrash* of ordinary towns was alienable, and therefore private property. In the earlier period, as already remarked, such private property in the pastoral portion of the *migrash* would arise only through the construction or possession of cisterns.

The second word used in the Old Testament for this territory is *sadeh*, in the plural *sadôth*, of the *fields* of a town.[1] But in reaching this meaning the word had an interesting career. To judge from the Hebrew and kindred languages, the original signification was perhaps *mountain*, but at least *wild-land* —whence the phrases *flowers of the field* and *beasts of the field*—as contrasted with cultivated soil, and *open-land* as contrasted with cities.[2] Then it was applied in a political sense to the lands or territory of a people,[3] or estate of a family.[4] But as land in possession of a tribe implies cultivation, that which had originally meant uncultivated land passed into the very opposite signification, and is used from at least the time of the Book of the Covenant onwards as *arable field* (along with vineyards), ploughed, sown and yielding harvest.[5] In this sense we must take it when it is connected with towns. The *sadôth* of a town were its arable fields and gardens. The *migrash*, as we have seen, included them and the common pasture-land besides.

2. Sādeh or Sadôth.

It has been necessary to give these definitions in

[1] שָׂדֶה or שָׂדַי, Neh. xi. 30; xii. 29, 44 (of cultivated fields); 2 Chron. xxxi. 19. In the singular, field of Zoan, Ps. lxxviii. 12.

[2] Micah iv. 10, *out of the city into the field*; cf. Gen. xxv. 29.

[3] Judges v. 4; Hosea xii. 13, etc. etc.

[4] 2 Sam. ix. 7; xix. 30: the domains of Saul's house.

[5] Exod. xxii. 4; xxiii. 16; Num. xx. 17; Is. v. 8; Micah iii. 12; Joel i. 11.

detail, because several writers have assumed the opposite: that *migrash* means arable and *sadeh* pasture.[1]

3. Other terms for the suburban territory.

Several other terms are used in the Old Testament for the district or environs of a city, but they are of less definite signification. Nehemiah seven times uses the word *pelek* (the root meaning of which is probably *circle*) for a district of a city, but whether within or without the walls is not quite clear; the Assyrian analogy supports the latter.[2] Nehemiah also speaks of the *kikkar* or *circuit of Jerusalem*,[3] in what seems to be not a geographical but a political sense. The Book of Jeremiah distinguishes from other districts of Judah the *sĕbîbîm* or *sĕbibôth*, the *surroundings* of Jerusalem.[4] On the other hand, the term *gĕlîlah*, also meaning *circuit*, appears to have been used only of districts wider than urban ones.

Definite Civic bounds.

That the boundaries of these urban territories were from very early times definitely known, there is sufficient evidence. In all probability they were as distinctly marked as we know the boundaries of private fields to have been.[5] The early story of the return of the Ark from Philistia speaks of its arrival at the *gĕbûl*, or *border*, *of Beth-Shemesh*, where it was first noticed by the men of Beth-Shemesh, who were reaping their harvest within the border.[6] And in the late portions

[1] So Fenton, *Early Hebrew Life*, § 20, and others following him.

[2] פֶּלֶךְ, Neh. iii. 9, 12, 14-18, of Jerusalem and other towns. The Assyrian *pulug[g]u* and *pilku* both seem to mean districts outside cities. See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, sub vv.

[3] כִּכַּר, Neh. xii. 28.

[4] סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת, Jer. xvii. 26; xxxiii. 13.

[5] Deut. xix. 14; xxvii. 17; Prov. xxii. 28; xxiii. 10.

[6] גְּבוּל or גְּבֻל, 1 Sam. vi. 12.

of the Books of Numbers and Joshua we read of the definite borders of many other cities,[1] and once generally of the *gĕbulôth*, or *borders, of the cities of the land*.[2] The Targums translate *gĕbûl*, which is not found in post-biblical Hebrew or Aramaic, by the word *tĕḥûmâ*, which, with another form *tĕḥûm*, is a common word in the Talmud for boundary; *tĕḥum Shabbath* is the limit of the legal Sabbath-day's journey, 2000 cubits (1000 yards).[3] The word occurs in all the North Semitic languages and in Arabic for the boundary of a village, town, or province.[4] It is the term used in the boundary inscriptions of Gezer discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau, and dated by him 'at or near the first century' before Christ. M. Clermont-Ganneau reckons one of these inscriptions as 3000 cubits from the foot of the Tell of Gezer, which is the same as his calculation of the *migrash* assigned to the Levitical cities.[5] However this may be, we cannot, of course, suppose that the boundaries round different cities or villages were either uniform with each other or constant.

In the New Testament the Greek words by which the Septuagint renders *migrash*[6] do not occur, and, except in one doubtful case, *Perichōros* is always used of larger

[1] Num. xxxv. 26 (a city of refuge); Josh. xiii. 3 (Ekron); 26 (Lidebir); xvi. 3 (Beth-horon, the nether); xix. 12 (Chisloth-Tabor).

[2] גְּבֻלֹת, Num. xxxii. 33.

[3] תְּחוּמָא, for the Targ. cf. Deut. iii. 16, etc. תחום שבת, 'the Sabbath limit,' *Erub.* 51 *b*: cf. Acts i. 12.

[4] Assyr. taḫumu (Delitzsch); Syriac tḫûmâ (Maclean, *Dict. of Vernac. Syr.*). Palmyrene תחומא (Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.*, a Tariff inscription from Palmyra, ii. *a* 3; ii. *b* 14, 31: pp. 322, 326). Arabic taḫm and tuḫm (Freytag).

[5] *Arch. Res.* ii. 26 ff., 270 ff.

[6] Προάστειον, περισπόριον, περιπόλιον.

regions than suburban territories.[1] But the *fields*, the *sadôth*, are frequently mentioned in connection with *towns and villages*, or in contrast to the town.[2] Also, not only is *chorai* used for the open country in opposition to the city,[3] but there is mention of the *chora* of a city in which lay its tombs and pasture-ground running down to the Lake of Galilee.[4] If we take this particular city, according to one reading, to have been Gadara, we know that it bore a trireme on some of its coins, which implies rights on the coast and the lake.[5] The Synoptics also call the territory of a city the *patris* or *fatherland* of its citizens. Thus when Jesus returned to Nazareth, it is said that *He came into His patris and taught in their synagogue*.[6] The last clause proves that *His patris* cannot refer to any of the larger divisions of Galilee, in each of which there were several cities and synagogues, but must be the definite territory belonging to Nazareth. Luke describes Jesus as coming to the *city called Bethsaida*; yet what follows there happens in a desert place, and there are villages and fields round about.[7]

Suburban territories in the N.T.

The suburban lands, however, were not the only possible property of a village or town. In the course of their history many a community came into possession of and cultivated fields at a distance from themselves. This was due to one or other of

Extra-suburban territory of a town.

[1] Περίχωρος. The doubtful case is Luke viii. 37.

[2] Mark vi. 56, *villages, cities, fields*; Mark v. 14; Luke viii. 34, πόλις and ἀγροί, besides pasture. Cf. τὰ σπόριμα, Matt. xii. 1, etc.

[3] Luke xxi. 21, χώραι contrasted with Jerusalem, verse 20.

[4] Matt. viii. 28 ff.; Mark v. 1 ff.; Luke viii. 26 ff.

[5] *H.G.H.L.* 601; also my article on 'Decapolis,' *Enc. Bib.*

[6] Matt. xiii. 54, 57; Mark vi. 1, 4; Luke iv. 23 f.

[7] Luke ix. 10 ff.

several interesting causes. A village might become depopulated in the course of a war or by the banishment of its inhabitants, and in that case its fields fell to its neighbours. As I learned in 1901 when visiting Tell el-Ash'ari in Ḥauran, the fertile land round this ruined and abandoned site is cultivated by the inhabitants of Taffas, five or six miles away; and M. Clermont-Ganneau has shown from two inscriptions which I discovered, one at Taffas and the other at Tell el-Ash'ari, that a similar condition of affairs existed there in 69 A.D.[1] Or the sovereign authority of the land might make a grant, to some local chieftain, of villages or towns and their fields at a distance from his own domains: this was frequently done by the Romans to Herod and others. Or such grants might be made from religious motives. Jerusalem especially profited by these, as we shall see in the case of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Mosque of Omar; we may presume that this happened also in favour of the Jewish Temple. Or, finally, a town growing rich, but finding the produce of its suburban territory too meagre for its growing population, might purchase the lands and villages of other towns; or this purchase might be effected by wealthy individuals. Very recently, on the Plain of Esdraelon, the rights of the tillage of the lands of several villages were sold to a firm of Greek bankers, who now employ the villagers as their tenants and farm servants.[2] These last processes were of course natural in the case of such a capital as Jerusalem, and it

[1] See *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, 21 f. Of course it is possible, as M. Cl.-Ganneau points out, that both inscriptions, which are by the same man, originally were raised at the same spot.

[2] For the same on Carmel, see *Z.D.P.V.* xxx. 152.

was in fact the purchase of the yeomen's estates by rich men, many of whom must have been resident in the capital, which led to the economic problems and the agricultural distress deplored by the prophets of the eighth century.

We have now sufficiently traced the fundamental lines on which a community in Palestine like that of early Jerusalem was formed and held its lands, and may proceed to a consideration of the natural resources of the territory of the City.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF JERUSALEM

IT is curious what opposite appreciations have been given of the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The City has been described as lying 'upon barren mountains,' as 'the centre of a stony waste,' as 'having a few fertile spots within sight,' but the rest 'dry and arid,' 'a great plain, part stony, part of good soil'; as 'the most fertile portion of Filastin,' 'a country where on the hills are trees, and in the plains fields, which need neither irrigation nor the watering of rivers, . . . "a land flowing with milk and honey."' Such differences of opinion are explicable partly from the difference of the seasons and partly from the different economic conditions during which the writers quoted have visited the City; but principally from the fact that the favourable opinions are those of Mohammedans accustomed to the more desert regions of their world, while the unfavourable are by travellers, ancient Greeks or mediæval pilgrims, fresh from the greater fertility of Europe. The truth is to be ascertained only by an examination of the various products, which agriculture when diligent and unharassed has been able to raise among these high summits of the Judæan range.

Opposite appreciations of the country round Jerusalem.

Grain may be grown, and is grown, on every plain, such as those to the south-west and north, and in the wider valley bottoms. But withal the space for cereal crops is comparatively limited.[1] Wheat can be raised and raised well, but the conditions are so much less favourable to its growth than they are in other parts of Palestine within easy reach of Jerusalem—for example, Philistia and Esdraelon with their offshoots among the hills like Ajalon and Sorek; the Plains of Jordan, where these are irrigated; and the Plain of Mukhneh to the east of Shechem—that wheat can never have abounded in the immediate neighbourhood of the City. Among all the place-names within a radius of ten or twelve miles from Jerusalem I have found only one which is a monument to the presence of wheat: the Joret el-Ḳamḥ, in the Wâdy south of 'Anathoth,[2] and this is the more significant that all the other products of the district are so frequently found among its place-names. To-day the bent of the higher towns and villages of Western Palestine towards the wheatfields or harvests of the lowlands is everywhere visible,[3] and it proves how largely dependent for wheat ancient Jerusalem must have been upon the neighbouring valleys and plains. The most accurate summary of the facts I have seen is that given by Martin Kabátník, the Bohemian pilgrim of 1492 A.D.:[4] 'Round Jerusalem there is little level

Cereal Crops: 1. Wheat.

[1] Thomson (*L. and B.* 667) says: 'These rides about Jerusalem reveal the ruggedness of this territory. It could never have been a corn-growing region, but is admirably adapted to the olive, the fig, the vine, the pomegranate, and other fruit-trees.' See below.

[2] Joreh=a valley-bottom where water is found during the rains. Ḳamḥ =wheat, Heb. חִטִּים, חִטָּה.

[3] *e.g.* Carmel, *Z.D.P.V.* xxi. 152.

[4] German translation by Prášek in *Z.D.P.V.* xxi. 56.

land, mostly great mountains and valleys; good grain, however, flourishes here; only one can cultivate little of it, wherefore the bread is very dear.'

The common grain of the highlanders was barley, regarded as characteristic of Israel when Israel was confined to the hills,[1] and besides barley there were millet and vetches, with beans, onions, cucumbers and other vegetables. But against barley, millet, vetches and beans the same comparative want of space would tell as against wheat.

2. Barley, Millet, etc.

Far more than any grain the staple products of the Judæan range have been its fruit-trees, and especially the great triad of the Olive, the Vine and the Fig. These are the three which in the ancient parable the trees desire in turn to make their king.[2] They are celebrated throughout the poetry of the Old Testament, and in proverbs which speak of the comfort of the home and the prosperity of the land. They form the full, bright vestures of all but the desert landscapes of Judæa. And from first to last it is they alone which have not only sustained her inhabitants, but by their surplus supplied these with the means of exchange for goods in which their own land was lacking. None of the three grows either in Babylonia[3] or Arabia.

Fruit-trees the staple.

The chief place among them belongs to the Olive,[4] which upon the fatter plains below is much less fertile

[1] Judges vii. 13, barley-fields at Jerusalem 2 Sam. xiv. 30; barley= שְׂעֹרִים, שְׂעֹרָה [2] Judges ix. 8 ff.

[3] So Hommel (*Geogr. Vorderasiens*, p. 12), who derives all three from Eastern Asia Minor. Other authorities trace the fig from the southern coasts of the Mediterranean.

[4] Hebrew זַיִת, *zaith*, or עֵץ הַזַּיִת: oil יִצְהָר, זַיִת, שֶׁמֶן, *zaith*, *yiṣhar*, and *shemen*; wild olive עֵץ שֶׁמֶן.

in oil than when it grows upon high rocky slopes or terraces, in a wash of wind and sunshine. The most favourable conditions for its culture are a warm, porous, limestone soil, where the winter frosts are moderate or transitory, and where the summers, when the berries ripen, have either little or no rainfall. The tree flourishes on stony declivities that will produce no other fruit, and is also at home on marly soil and among the shot *débris* of hills and even of ruined towns.[1] Round Jerusalem these conditions are all present, and the Palestine olive reaches its best.[2] A large number of place-names, ancient and modern, attest its prevalence,[3] along with the numerous olive-groves of the present day and the frequent traces of ancient oil-presses.[4] To *the labour of the olive*, then, we may believe that the earlier like the later inhabitants of Jerusalem

1. The Olive.

[1] I take these, and a few of the other particulars I have given, from the monograph by Prof. Theob. Fischer, *Der Ölbaum, seine geogr. Verbreitung, seine wirthschaftliche u. kulturhistorische Bedeutung.* Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1904, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft Nr. 147.

[2] So I have been told by fellahin. Cf. Ritter, *Compar. Geogr. of Palestine*, iv. 184. 'The olive tree seems to have its natural home here; for seldom are very old olives met which yield so good an oil as those of this district. When the Koran swears by the fig and the olive, it is as if it swore by Damascus and Jerusalem.'

[3] Besides Mount of Olives (which, though now called Jebel eṭ-Ṭur, was still called Jebel ez-Zaitun in the earlier Moslem period), Gethsemane (and perhaps Bethzetha), the following are given in Schick and Benzinger's map: *Weitere Umgebung von Jerusalem* (founded on the large P.E.F. map), *Z.D.P.V.* xix. 145 ff.: Sheikh Abu Zaitûn (Kh. el Meiṭā) N.E. of, and W. ez-Zait W. of, Bethhoron the Upper; Bir ez-Zaitunât on the road from Jerusalem to Anathoth; W. ez-Zaitûn, running S.E. from under Bethany; Beit Zaitâ, a ruin on Hebron road almost due west from Teḳoa'; and Ḳa'at ez-Zitūneh west of the Hebron road.

[4] Probably the finest work of its kind in the neighbourhood of the City is a large rock-cut press with several vats for the extraction of wine or olive oil in the garden known as 'Abraham's Vineyard,' on the N.W. side of Jerusalem. It is fully described by Mr. Macalister in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, 248 and 398-403, with plan and photograph.

mainly applied themselves, and reaped not only the wealth which the tree ultimately yields to its possessor, but those moral endowments which observers, ancient and modern, have justly attributed to the discipline of its slow and skilful cultivation. The berries yield their farmer food and light,[1] ointment for cleansing, healing and festival; the timber provides his furniture and fuel. But if his farm be a highland one, the olive, besides thus fulfilling so many domestic uses, is practically the only one of his crops which yields a surplus over his yearly wants, and is therefore ready for export or exchange. The Pseudo-Aristeas, writing about 200 B.C., places the olive at the head of the products of Judæa, which he says 'is thickly wooded with masses of olives.'[2] Nâsir-i-Khusrau reports in the eleventh century 'that many of the chief men harvest as much as 50,000 Manns weight of olive oil,' about 16,800 gallons. 'This is kept in tanks and cisterns and they export thereof to other countries.'[3] The harvest of the olive, however, comes only to a long patience. The young plant is carefully cultivated for seven or eight years, before engrafting, and even then for three years more before it bears fruit, but it is only after fifteen to twenty years that it reaches its full value. Watering is necessary in the earlier stages, and frequent digging, as much as three and five times a year.[4] After this the tree may endure for centuries, for 'it possesses with its very slow growth, so enormous a

[1] The oil is little used for this since the introduction of petroleum.

[2] ἐλαικοῖς πλήθεσι σύνδενδρος, Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Intro. to the O.T. in Greek*, 539. Corn, pulse, vines, and honey are the other crops he mentions, with numberless fruit-trees and palms and rich pasture.

[3] Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 88; for to-day cf. *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, 338.

[4] Fischer, 30 f. Manure is also frequently applied.

vitality, that we may call it imperishable.'[1] How all this makes for the increase of caution and foresight in a community, for habits of industry and love of peace, may be easily realised. 'The olive-tree is one of the educators of mankind towards a higher civilisation.'[2] It was not arbitrarily that the ancient Mediterranean peoples selected the olive as the symbol of peace and the civic virtues; or that the poets of the Old Testament took it as a figure of the health both of the nation and of the individual Israelite.[3] Its appearance in so many place-names about Jerusalem, and some of these among the most historic, is a proper token not only of the City's means of subsistence, but of the elements of her people's character. The divine source of these was symbolised by its oil in the anointing of kings and priests, expressive as this was of the conveyance of the grace and authority of God. When Zechariah illustrated the fulness of Revelation through Israel, he did so by the seven-branched lamp of the sanctuary, fed (as he saw it) from two olive-trees, the anointed prince and priest of the people, *the two sons of oil which stand before the Lord of all the earth.*[4] The olive does not appear in the Parables of our Lord, nor its oil in the Sacraments He instituted. But it is enshrined in His Name, *The Christ*; and it is the symbol of the consecration and endowment of His Church by His Spirit.[5] Nor can the Christian heart forget that it was beneath olive-trees and hard by an olive press that the Divine Passion was accomplished, and the Saviour bowed Himself to His sacrifice for the life of men.

[1] Fischer, 31. [2] Fischer, 32.
[3] Hos. xiv. 6; Jer. xi. 16; Ps. lii. 10 [Eng. 8].
[4] Zech. iv. 14. [5] 2 Cor. i. 21; 1 John ii. 20, 27.

With the olive we must emphasise the Vine,[1] and all the more that, under the ban which Islam has put upon wine, vineyards are less prevalent in Judah than undoubtedly they were in ancient times.

2. The Vine.

In the Old Testament Judah is *par excellence* the province of the grape;[2] vines and vineyards appear frequently in its parables and poetry, as well as in the Judæan parables of our Lord. The language has blossomed into an unusual, almost an Arabic, luxuriance, upon the parts of the vine and the various forms of its products. Not only for wine was the plant cultivated. Raisins have always been a common article of food; and the *d'bash* of the phrase translated *flowing with milk and honey* is very probably the same as the Arabic *dibs*: a thick syrup of grapes.[3] The place-names round Jerusalem which record the vine are numerous, but even less so than the diminished vineyards of the present day, and these still less than the remains of ancient vine-terraces. The largest plantations seem to have been on the north-west of the City, and at the south-western end of the Buḳei'a, the ancient plain of Rephaim, where about Bittir and Weljeh they are numerous even to-day; but place-names with *grape* or *vine* in them come close

[1] Hebrew: vine, גֶּפֶן *gephen*; cluster of grapes, אֶשְׁכֹּל *'eshkōl*; grapes, עֲנָבִים *'anabîm*; vineyard, כֶּרֶם *kerem*; wine-press, גַּת *gath*; wine, יַיִן *yayin*, חֶמֶר *ḥemer*, תִּירֹשׁ *tîrōsh*, etc. There are other words for vine-shoots, vine-rows, etc. Raisins, צִמּוּקָה *ṣimmûḳah*.

[2] Gen. xlix. 11 f.; Isaiah vii. 20 ff.; Micah iv. 4; 1 Kings iv. 25; Hab. iii. 17; Isaiah lxi. 5, lxv. 21; also in Malachi, Joel, etc. For details see *H.G.H.L.* 308 ff.

[3] The question is not yet settled. See *H.G.H.L.* 673, additional note to p. 83; and the discussion by Nestle, Dalman, and others in the *M.u.N.D.P.V.* for 1902 and 1905.

to the City walls, as no doubt the vineyards always did: there are plantations down the Wâdy en-Nâr, and the name of a vineyard still survives on the top of Olivet.[1] The grapes of Jerusalem were large and fine; to this we have a singularly constant testimony especially from the Moslem geographers and mediæval travellers; the latter of whom also certify to the good quality of the wine. Martin Kabátník, already quoted, says that 'at Jerusalem they have enough of good and cheap wine. In the Jerusalem vineyards I have seen extraordinary vine-branches.' He came from a wine-growing country and gives some interesting particulars as to its cultivation compared with that of the Jerusalem vineyards.

The third of the great triad of the fruit-trees of Palestine is the Fig.[2] No homestead was complete without it;[3] and the subtleties of its fertilisation appear to have been known from the earliest times.[4] Like the olive and the vine, it afforded the Judæan peasant a possible article of exchange. Round Jerusalem the place-names carrying *fig* are not so numerous as those with *vine* or *olive*.[5]

Other fruits in Judæa were the sycomore figs, food

[1] Near the city are the following place-names: Karm (vineyard) Aḥmed, N.W. not far from the Jaffa road; Karm esh-Sheikh, just N. of N.E. corner of the walls; Ḳaṣr el Karm and W. Umm el 'Anab, N. on the Nebi-Samwil road; Magharet el 'Anab, N. and W. of the Nablus road; Karm es-Seiyâd (V. of the hunter), on the north summit of Olivet; further away Kuryet el 'Anab, etc. The plantations down the W. en-Nâr are found at Kh. Deir es-Senne. It is, of course, impossible to give a full list of the extant or ruined vineyards round Jerusalem.

[2] Hebrew: תְּאֵנָה *tĕ'ēnah*; early fig, בִּכּוּרָה *bikkûrah*, פַּגָּה *paggah*.

[3] 2 Kings iv. 25; Micah iv. 4.

[4] See the instructive article in the *Enc. Bibl.*

[5] Bethphage; 'Ain et-Tine, far S.W. of Bethlehem on the Hebron road; W. et-Tin, S. of Bethlehem.

only for the poor, the pods of the locust or carob-tree, nuts and almonds, pomegranates, apples, apricots, mulberries.[1] In a burst of exaggeration pardonable to a native of the city, Muḳaddasi, the Arab geographer (*c.* 985 A.D.), exclaims: 'As for the Holy City being the most productive of all places in good things, why, Allah—may He be exalted!—has gathered together here all the fruits of the lowlands and of the plains and of the hill country, even all those of most opposite kinds: such as the orange and the almond, the date and the nut, the fig and the banana, besides milk in plenty, and honey and sugar.'[2] It will be noticed that nothing is said of wheat or other grain. Other fruits.

Of the more difficult question of the prevalence of trees for timber about the City, the data have been already given in the general description of Jerusalem.[3] The environs have been so often stripped by besiegers that a definite answer to the question is now impossible. On the one hand, there never can have been much large timber; the Old Testament reflects but little—in fact nothing beyond Isaiah's allusions to oaks and terebinths—and speaks of wood for building as brought from a distance. On the other hand, the present place-names testify to the growth of the oak,[4] the walnut, the plane, the tamarisk, the nettle-tree,[5] and the willow. The sycomore,[6] so much used in Old Testament times Trees for timber.

[1] On sycomore figs see Amos vii. 14; 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. The upper part of the Ḳidron valley is called W. ej-Jôz or 'Nut-Vale.' There is an 'Ain el-Lōzeh or almond-tree well, and Khurbet el-Lôz. The pomegranate scarcely occurs in the place-names. The Carob or Khârrub tree is frequent. W. el Khokh is 'Peach-Vale.' Burj et-Tut=mulberry tower. There is a Ḳaṣr Umm Leimun at Teḳo'a and a Kh. Leimun N.W. of Jerusalem.

[2] *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 85.

[3] Above, pp. 16 ff.

[4] *Quercus ilex.*

[5] *Celtis.*

[6] *Ficus Sycomorus.*

for building, had to be brought from a distance. It does not grow above one thousand feet above the sea.[1]

Salt.

In the immediate territory of Jerusalem there are no deposits of salt: the word does not occur in any place-name nearer than the Wâdy el-Malḥa, south-east of Herodium, where there may be a few precarious 'salt-licks.' But as the damp sides of caves often yield a slight saline crust, mixed with soil, the primitive inhabitants of Jerusalem, as well as some of her poorer citizens up to the end of the history, may have scraped off the meagre and dirty stuff for their own use in cooking: the like is still done in other parts of Syria.[2] The great deposits on the Dead Sea, however, were not far away, and have been constantly imported to the City during historical times. But this belongs properly to our next chapter, on the commerce of Jerusalem.

Honey.

In Syria 'the best honey,' says Muḳaddasi, 'is that from Jerusalem, where the bees suck the thyme.' One of the Tell el-Amarna letters includes honey in a list of ordinary foods.[3] The honey of the Old Testament is that of wild bees, *honey from the rock*.[4] By New Testament times the cultivation of honey is implied in the use of the phrase *wild honey*, the food of John the Baptist in the desert;[5] and from other sources we know that by that time apiculture

[1] Cf. Diener, *Libanon*, 173 f., where the limit is given as 300 m.

[2] Libbey and Hoskins, *The Jordan Valley and Petra*, ii. 110.

[3] Winckler's edition, No. 138, l. 12, *dishb*. Of course it is possible that this is grape-syrup. See above, p. 303.

[4] Deut. xxxii. 13; Ps. lxxxi. 16; cf. Judges xiv. 8 ff.; 1 Sam. xiv. 25 ff. Cf. Thomson, *L. and B.*, 566.

[5] Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6; cf. Nestle on Luke xxiv. 42, *Z.D.P.V.* xxx. 208 f.

was practised.[1] The art is so ancient that it may have been known to the Canaanites and early Israel, but the Old Testament references, as given above, point the other way. In any case, honey was a common product of the district round Jerusalem.

In the land of Judæa the shepherd was a prominent figure, who frequently came to the very front of her religious and political life, and whom her literature takes as the type of the highest qualities of the ruler of men, whether human or divine.[2] The cause of his capacity and the reason of the honour paid him is largely due, however, to the difficulty of his field. The waters of Judæa are few and far between; the pasture is sparse and uncertain. Sheep and goats thrive upon it, but except in the district to the west of Hebron such large flocks are not met with as in other parts of Palestine. The oxen and the cows are small and sometimes even stunted-looking.[3] For the larger and finer cattle the country is quite unsuitable. They have to be imported. Of fowls for food pigeons abound, and in some parts partridges are fairly numerous. The domestic fowl was not introduced till the Persian period.

Cattle-breeding.

As everywhere in the early East so at Jerusalem the Ass was the common animal for riding and loading. Josephus, in reply to Apion's absurd charge that the Jews worshipped the head of an ass, says: 'Asses are the same with us as they are with other

The Ass.

[1] See the evidence from Philo and the Mishna, given by A. R. S. Kennedy, art. 'Honey,' *Enc. Bibl.* For modern apiculture, *Z.D.P.V.* xxx. 162, 166.

[2] *H.G.H.L.* 310 ff.

[3] Every traveller will observe this. Ritter says: 'the bullock is small and ugly-looking; veal and beef are seldom eaten.'

wise men, creatures which bear the burdens we lay upon them; but if they come to our threshing-floors and eat our corn, or do not perform what we lay upon them, we beat them with a great many stripes; for it is their business to serve us in our husbandry.'[1] The ass in several varieties forms as frequent a figure in the streets and landscapes of Jerusalem to-day, as he does in the stories of the City from the time of the Judges to those of the Gospels.[2] The poorest peasant owned his ass; troops were included in the property of the rich. Besides their employment in agriculture, they were used in the caravans of commerce and sent from Jerusalem even upon the longest expeditions through the desert. As contrasted with the horse the ass was the symbol of humility and of peace: *Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Ṣion, shout aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem, for thy King cometh unto thee vindicated and victorious, meek and riding on an ass and a colt the foal of an ass.*

Horses and mules were not introduced to Jerusalem till a comparatively late period. And the same is probably true of camels. It is to be remarked that asses alone are mentioned as used in ordinary agriculture even in so late a passage as 1 Sam. viii.[3] All the others, therefore, fall to be considered in our next chapter under the imports of the City.

[1] *C. Apion*, ii. 7.

[2] *e.g.* Gen. xlix. 12; Ju. xix. 3, 10; 1 Sam. ix.; 2 Sam. xvi. i.; Is. xxx. 6 ff. (in caravans sent from Jerusalem through the desert); Zech. ix. 9; Matt. xxi. 2 ff.; Mark xi. 2 ff.; Luke xix. 29 ff. The Hebrew terms are חֲמוֹר *ḥămôr*, אָתוֹן *'āthôn*, *she-ass*, עַיִר *'aîr* = πῶλος, *young ass* (also of the grown animal, Ju. x. 4, etc.). In Judges v. 10, אֲתֹנוֹת צְחֹרוֹת, *red-white asses* of a better kind, for riding. Wild-ass is פֶּרֶא or עָרוֹד.

[3] Verse 16.

Of good workable stone, as we have seen in the chapter on the geology, the inhabitants of Jerusalem had an unlimited quantity under the city itself, though in these latter days they prefer to draw their supplies from quarries further off.[1] The *meleki* stone, so much used under the monarchy, is no longer drawn upon. Of the flints we have spoken. There is neither basalt nor granite. The clay of the surroundings is of poor quality. The Nâri, or upper chalk, is strong, to withstand heat, and therefore to this day fire-places and ovens are made of it, but so friable that its clay is bad for water-jars and other vessels of the potter.[2] There are no metals in the rocks, neither gold nor silver, neither copper nor iron ; they will therefore be considered under the imports.[3]

Stone, Clay, and Metals.

Such are the natural resources of the territory of Jerusalem. While some of them yield a considerable surplus over the domestic needs of the inhabitants, others barely fulfil the latter ; and the absence from the list of a number of the necessaries of life implies the existence in the city, from the earliest times, of a certain amount of commerce with other districts, which, as the population, and especially its unproductive elements, increased, must have grown to a great volume. The commerce of Jerusalem will therefore form the subject of the next chapter.

Summary : the need and the means of Commerce.

[1] Baldensperger, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, 133. [2] See above, pp. 53 f.

[3] There is an interesting paper on the mineral and chemical resources of the Dead Sea coasts and Wilderness of Judæa (petroleum, asphalt, sulphur, phosphates, etc.) by Blanckenhorn in the *M.u.N.D.P.V.*, 1902, 65 ff.

CHAPTER V

COMMERCE AND IMPORTS

IN the primitive community of Jerusalem every family would roast and rub or grind their own grain,[1] bake their own bread, make their own curds and cheese, and weave their own clothing. Each house-father slaughtered the beasts needed for the family or guests. Wine and oil presses they may have held in common, or separately. The men roughly cured the hides of their beasts, as the Arabs do to-day, and stitched them into water-vessels; these skins preceding jars of pottery, as we see from the leather shapes and seams which are still imitated on the latter. They also fashioned their own flints and clubs, and carved other implements out of bone.

How far early Jerusalem depended on her own resources.

So far the primitive Jerusalem lived upon herself. Yet even from the beginning and for some of the necessaries of life a modest amount of trade was inevitable: trade with the farmers of the plains, with the desert nomads, and with the nearest centres of civilisation. The first of these, as we have seen, must have furnished some wheat, and as Jerusalem grew the imports of this constantly increased.

Trade inevitable from the first.

[1] For a specimen of the primitive corn-rubbers which preceded the hand-mill, see photographs in Bliss and Macalister, *Excav. in Pal.*, 143; *M.u.N.D.P.V.*, 1905, 24; also Cl.-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* i. 292; and Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights*, etc., p. 98, fig. 28.

The clay of the neighbourhood, being poor, can hardly have initiated among the inhabitants the art of pottery apart from the imitation of imported jars, which, perhaps along with the raw clay, came also from the lowland villages. The desert nomads would bring salt from the coasts of the Dead Sea, along with cattle, butter, cheese, alum, alkali and medicinal herbs, and receive in exchange oil and various fruits. But Jerusalem never was such a market for the Bedouin as either Hebron or Gaza. The wandering workers in metals, who have always ranged the less civilised regions of the Semitic world, would furnish vessels for cooking and ploughshares; while the travelling weapon-smiths of Egypt, also visible in that earliest history,[1] and probably too those of Phœnicia, would supply lances and swords. In the second millennium before Christ there was a busy trade across Palestine, and the products of Syria found a ready market in Egypt. The caravans between the Nile and the Euphrates had to be fed on their way through Canaan, and in exchange would drop upon it a certain proportion of their goods. They passed to and fro less than thirty miles from Jerusalem, and it is more than probable that many of the simpler comforts and embellishments of life, with a certain store of the precious metals, would drift into the possession of her inhabitants even when she was little more than a village and a hill-fort. Neither the Egyptian records nor the Hebrew accounts of Palestine at the time of Israel's arrival warrant us in minimising the local or foreign trade of the land, or the wealth which the petty clans were able to draw from it. To such travelling forms of

[1] Cf. the story of Seny-hit, and see *Enc. Bibl.* article 'Trade and Commerce' by the present writer, for this and further details of trade.

commerce each township would add in time the booths of some settled dealers, blacksmiths and potters,[1] and thus a little *sûk* or bazaar would be formed. In the earliest cases these would probably be foreigners familiar with other markets. Whether images and amulets were the work of priests or other specialists, because of a required conformity to orthodox patterns, or whether each family fashioned its own household gods, we cannot tell. At the best the amount of trade cannot have been capable of sustaining the community when the not infrequent droughts or famines visited their fields. One town had then to buy water from another, but as the crops of the whole country usually, though not always,[2] suffered equally from such a plague, grain had to be sought in far lands like Egypt, which were under different meteorological influences. What had the peasants of Palestine, then, wherewith to purchase food and seed, but the hoarded ornaments of their women or their spare homespuns, or, when these were exhausted, their children? Syrian slaves were highly prized in Egypt.[3]

All this is clear enough while Jerusalem is but one of the many mountain townships of Western Palestine; and these remain the essential factors of her economy to the very end. But difficulties arise as we begin to inquire how far these factors

Increasing need of trade.

[1] To-day in Palestine the earliest shops to be opened in a growing village are that of the grocer, *sammān*, or dealer in butter, salt, spices, dried fruits, and small wares, and that of the smith. So Van Lennep, *Bible Lands and Customs*, p. 775, and Baldensperger in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, 68, etc. Burckhardt found in Kerak that the 'only artisans who keep shops are a blacksmith, a shoemaker, and a silversmith,' p. 388.

[2] The Sirocco will sometimes blight the crops of one district in Judæa and leave those of another untouched, or at most only prematurely ripe.

[3] W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 37 f., 150, 352.

developed, and how much they had to be supplemented when Jerusalem became a capital, political and religious, with large non-producing elements among her population—courtiers, priesthood and a mercenary garrison—always, be it remembered, in a territory less fruitful of some of the necessaries of life than the surrounding regions, with no opportunity for large industries, and aloof from the great trade routes of the country.

That serious economic problems arose in Jerusalem from the very beginning of her history as a capital, and persisted, because of the conditions just mentioned, down to the very end of our period, is seen from David's immediate organisation of the trade of his kingdom and his conquests of the rich corn-lands east of Jordan; from Solomon's cultivation of foreign trade, and his arrangements for feeding the non-producing classes in his capital; from the successive attempts of later Jewish monarchs to re-open Solomon's lines of traffic; from the criticisms by the prophets upon the cruelties which commerce, and especially corn-dealing, inflicted upon the poor; from the witness of Ezekiel to the commercial influence of Jerusalem in the seventh century and the traditions of the same preserved in the Book of Ezra; from the economic difficulties of the returned exiles as recorded by Haggai and Zechariah; from the grants of food and materials for building made by the Persian monarchs; from the fiscal and customs arrangements of the Seleucids, with the attention given by the Maccabees in their campaigns to the lines of trade; from the financial relations of the Hasmonean kings and Herod with the Nabateans; and from the large importations

Evidences of commercial expansion.

of corn which Josephus records from Egypt and from Cyprus during the Roman period. With the details of these we shall have to deal at the proper points of the history. Here it is needful to give a general account of how the growing population of Jerusalem, much of it non-producing, supplemented the inadequate supplies of her immediate neighbourhood, and even of Judah as a whole. We keep in mind the fact, which in the course of this study we shall be able frequently to illustrate, that the population of royal and post-exilic Jerusalem could not possibly be sustained by the produce of their own lands—the *sadeh* or *migrash*[1] of the City—nor even by what they drew in tribute or by purchase from the rest of the territory of Judah. Imports from other states were necessary even in the best of times; during drought or after war had devastated the fields they must have been enormous. We shall, in this chapter, inquire what were these imports into Jerusalem, and whence they came; and in others, what industrial products and collections of money the city had wherewith to pay for them.

Imports necessary.

Although the territory of Jerusalem may have grown, and the land of Judah did grow, some wheat, the soil (as we have seen[2]) was not so favourable to cereals as was that of neighbouring states, and throughout its history the City must have imported wheat from abroad, as it does at the present day. To-day wheat comes into Jerusalem from Nablus, the produce of the fertile Mukhneh to the east of that town, from Hebron,[3] and from the east of Jordan, particularly Moab. In Moab, as I learned from personal observation, corn-

Import of wheat.

[1] See above, pp. 290 f. [2] P. 298. [3] Robinson, *B.R.* ii. 95.

dealers from Jerusalem buy up the harvests before they are reaped. At the bridge over Jordan, near Jericho you will meet with caravans of from thirty to fifty asses, or of mules with the peculiar yoke of Kerak—where, as Doughty says, 'corn is as the sand of the sea'—all laden with the grain and bound for the Jerusalem market. Herod sent for corn to the people about Samaria.[1] In Moslem times it was regularly imported from 'Ammân.[2] For the pre-Christian era we have even wider evidence. Eupolemus, a Jew, who flourished between 140 and 100 B.C., reflects, in a supposed letter from Solomon to the King of Tyre concerning food supplies for the workmen sent by the latter to Jerusalem, what must have been the condition in his own time and for many centuries before: 'I have written also to Galilee, Samaria and the country of Moab and of Ammon and to Gilead, that there should be supplied to them what they require, month by month ten thousand *kors* of wheat. Oil and other things shall be furnished them from Judæa, but cattle to be slaughtered for food from Arabia.'[3] So probably it was also in more ancient times. For this conclusion we must not depend, as some continue to do, on the story of the assassins of Ish-bosheth in Mahanaim, who, according to the English version, got into the house of their victim under pretence of *fetching wheat*; for the Hebrew text thus conjecturally translated is corrupt, and the

[1] Jos. i. *B. J.* xv. 6. [2] *Pal. under the Moslems*, 18, 391-393.

[3] Quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, iii. 226. The passage is so important for the illustration of the economics of Jerusalem at all times that I give the original: Γέγραφα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμαρεῖτιν καὶ Μωαβῖτιν καὶ 'Αμμανῖτιν καὶ Γαλαδῖτιν χωρηγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δέοντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας κατὰ μῆνα κόρους σίτου μυρίους . . . Τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χορηγηθήσεται αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς 'Ιουδαίας, ἱερεῖα δὲ εἰς κρεοφαγίαν ἐκ τῆς 'Αραβίας.

Greek version gives a better and a wholly different account.[1] But the Chronicler mentions tribute of wheat and barley. Ezekiel, in recounting the exports of Judah to Tyre, mentions wheat, not her own,[2] but from Minnith on the east of Jordan.[3] So that pre-exilic Jerusalem imported wheat not only for her own use—it is clear from many passages of the Old Testament that the people, and especially the landless poor, had to purchase wheat,[4]—but in order to sell it again to the Phœnicians; the proof that in those days she was a centre of exchange, *the gate of the peoples*, as Ezekiel himself calls her.[5] The business gave rise to speculation. *He that withholds corn*, says one of the Proverbs, *the people curse him, but blessing is on the head of him that selleth it.*[6] Prices, as often in the East, rapidly fluctuated, and the farmer or dealer held his stores against a rise. The same is done to-day, as I learned, among the farmers of Sharon.[7] Ordinary fellahin will store great quantities of corn in ancient cisterns or cemented pits. One fellah, I was told, kept his wheat for ten years; another sold at one time '100,000 bushels, or two shiploads.' But there are risks, for the grain is liable to spontaneous combustion; if this has just begun, the fellahin say that even the chickens refuse it.[8] In times of general drought these stores and these imports from other parts of Palestine

[1] 2 Sam. iv. 6. Read with Wellh. and Driver after the LXX.: *and lo! the portress of the house was cleaning wheat, and she slumbered and slept and Rechab and Ba'anah slipt past.*

[2] The wheat which Solomon exported to Tyre (1 Kings v. 11) would come not from Judah but from other parts of the then extended kingdom of Israel.

[3] Ezek. xxvii. 17.

[4] *e.g.* Amos viii. 5; Prov. xi. 26.

[5] Ezek. xxvi. 2; LXX.

[6] Prov. xi. 26.

[7] Cf. Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* 252, with further references.

[8] This last from a communication by Mr. R. A. Macalister at Gezer.

failed. Herod the Great brought corn from Egypt not only for bread 'for the cities of Jerusalem,' but for seed; and Queen Helena of Adiabene, to meet a similar necessity, had it imported from Egypt and Cyprus.[1] In Moslem times, as we have seen, grain was imported from 'Ammân. Whence the kings of Judah obtained their means of purchase we shall inquire later.

An important article of diet in Jerusalem was Fish. The evidence for the post-exilic period is found in Nehemiah xiii. 16, where it is said that a colony of Tyrians *brought in* the fish and sold it both to the citizens and the country folk. From their market the Fish Gate on the northern wall, the natural entrance for Phœnicians to the City, took its name. But this name is also pre-exilic,[2] and the Deuteronomic code had already directed what kinds of fish might be eaten.[3] The sources of supply, the Jordan, the Lake of Galilee, the Mediterranean coast and the Delta, are too distant for the fish to be brought to the city either alive[4] or fresh. The arts of drying and salting fish were practised in Egypt and along the Syrian coast from a high antiquity. In Egypt 'dried fish were a great feature of housekeeping. They were the cheapest food of the land, much cheaper than corn, of which the country was also very productive. The heartfelt wish of the poorer folk was that the price of corn might be as

Fish.

[1] Jos. xv. *Ant.* ix. 2; xx. *Ant.* ii. 5.

[2] Neh. iii. 3 ff.

[3] Deut. xiv. 9. Cf. in the J. document of the Pentateuch, Num. xi. 5, the people's desire in the wilderness for the fish of Egypt.

[4] Fishponds were unknown among the Jews till Roman times; *teste*, the Talmudic name for them, בִּיבָר, *i.e.* βιβάριον, *vivarium*; A. R. S. Kennedy, *Enc. Bib.* 1529. There were, of course, fishponds much earlier in the sanctuary at Ashkelon and elsewhere.

low as that of fish.'[1] There were also saltpans and villages of fishermen upon the lagoons of the desert coast between Egypt and Palestine,[2] and further north the Phœnicians preserved part of the harvest of their fisheries. The Phœnician fish seem not to have been so good[3] as those of Egypt, which had a great reputation in Israel,[4] and in later times were largely imported to Jerusalem.[5] From all these sources the Tyrian dealers brought to the City's markets what must have been one of her cheapest and most abundant supplies of food. Dried fish formed a convenient ration for journeys and pilgrimages. They were a staple nourishment of the hosts which visited the City for the great festivals. The enormous rise in the demand for food upon these periodic occasions was most suitably met by supplies which came so abundantly from so many sources and were capable of being stored. After the Greeks introduced the art of curing fish to the Lake of Galilee,[6] a large proportion of the supplies would come from its prolific waters. The rights of fishing on these were granted during the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem to the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre before Easter.[7] In Mohammedan times a favourite pickle was made at Jericho from the fish of Jordan.

Another constant article of import into Jerusalem was Salt. The nearest sources—except for a few precarious

[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, E.T., 239, with references to Wilkinson and others.

[2] *H.G.H.L.* 157.

[3] Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœnicia*, 45.

[4] Num. xi. 5.

[5] *Mishna*, 'Makshîrîn,' vi. 3, quoted by Kennedy *ut supra*, speaks of Egyptian fish that come in baskets (barrels ?).

[6] Cf. the Greek name ταριχέαι, which in Pliny's time gave the lake its name; *H.G.H.L.* 450-455.

[7] Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hieros.* 36, No. 142, A.D. 1132.

'salt-licks' east of Bethlehem[1] — were, of course, on the Dead Sea coasts: Jebel Usdum, the mountain of rock-salt,[2] the deposit at Birket el-Khalîl, south of 'Ain Jidy,[3] the pools and deposits round the northern end of the sea,[4] and on the south-eastern coast.[5] So long as the Kings of Judah held sway on the western shores, their own caravans would bring up the salt to Jerusalem. It may have been a royal monopoly, as it was in the times of the Seleucids and during the Latin Kingdom, when King Fulke gave liberty to the peasants of Teḳoa' to gather bitumen and salt from the Dead Sea.[6] But when the influence of the City was limited to her immediate neighbourhood, the salt supplies would be furnished precariously by the citizens themselves bringing it up on their asses,[7] or by the Arabs of the Judæan wilderness, or later by the Nabatean traders. But the Dead Sea salt is much mixed with earth, and it is probable that, as at the present day, purer qualities were imported to Jerusalem from more distant sources. When in Moab, I found that the salt used by the villagers was not all brought from the Dead Sea coasts, near as they lie, but mainly from the salt-pans of the Wâdy Sirḥân in Arabia, which Mr. Forder describes in the account of his journey to Ej-Jôf.[8] With the salt came nitre,[9] alum,[10] and asphalt.

Salt.

[1] Cf. the W. el Mālḥa, S.E. of Herodium.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 481-485.

[3] *Ibid.* 226; *Phys. Geog.* 199.

[4] Ezek. xlvii. 11.

[5] Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, ch. viii. p. 139. Cf. p. 107.

[6] Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, No. 174, A.D. 1138.

[7] Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* 199, mentions that he saw it brought up on asses by the inhabitants of villages near Jerusalem.

[8] *With Arabs in Tent and Town*, chaps. v.-viii. Cf. Burckhardt, p. 662.

[9] Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, ch. viii. p. 139.

[10] στυπτηρίας μέταλλα, Jos. vii. *B.J.* vi. 3.

The manufacture of Soap, now so great an industry in Palestine, and once practised at Jerusalem, as the large heaps to the north of the City certify, was introduced to the country only after the beginning of the Christian era. Previous to that people used oil and lime, fuller's earth, and the mineral and vegetable alkalis.[1] The vegetable alkali has always been an important article of Bedouin trade in the towns of Palestine. Hasselquist[2] reports 'a kind of the Arabian *kali*' on the northern shores of the Dead Sea. In a Bedouin camp in the south of Edom, Burckhardt was astonished 'to see nobody but women in the tents, but was told the greater part of the men had gone to Gaza to sell the soap-ashes which these Arabs collect in the mountains of Shera.'[3] Seetzen reports that the inhabitants of the land between Anti-Lebanon and Palmyra conduct a considerable trade in the potash products of the *kali*,[4] and Diener that the plant, called by the Arabs *abû sabûn*, 'father of soap,' is collected in great masses, especially in the neighbourhood of Jêrûd.[5] One of the principal sources of the alkali used to-day in the soap-manufactures of Western Palestine is the steppes south of Ḥauran, where, as I learned when travelling there, it is obtained from the ashes of the *kilu* and other plants and carried to Nablus by the Arabs. Ancient Jerusalem, then, would receive alkali from the Ishmaelites or Midianites, and use it for tanning skins, or, when mixed with oil, for washing.

Alkali.

[1] It is these last two which are usually understood by the names נֶתֶר and בֹּרִית, *nether* and *bōrîth*, in Jer. ii. 22.

[2] *Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 131.

[3] *Travels in Syria*, etc., 411.

[4] *Reisen*, i. 279.

[5] *Libanon*, 369.

We have seen that, while Judæa affords fair pasture for sheep and goats, her native breed of cattle is of a small and meagre kind, and that the finer species had to be imported. As the population of the City grew, the native supplies even of sheep became insufficient, and consequently all kinds of animals for food and sacrifice were introduced from abroad in increasing numbers. The chief pasture-lands were those of Bashan, celebrated for its breeds both of rams and bulls;[1] of Moab, whose king, like the chiefs of to-day, was a great sheep-master;[2] and of Mount Gilead, reputed for its goats.[3] 'More famous than the tilth of Eastern Palestine is her pasture. We passed through at the height of the shepherd's year. From the Arabian deserts the Bedouin were swarming to the fresh summer herbage of these uplands. . . . The herds of the settled inhabitants were still more numerous. In Moab the dust of the roads bears almost no marks but those of the feet of sheep. The scenes which throng most our memory of Eastern Palestine are (besides the threshing-floors of Ḥauran) the streams of Gilead in the heat of the day with the cattle standing in them, or the evenings when we sat at the door of our tent near the village well, and would hear the shepherd's pipe far away, and the sheep and goats and cows with the heavy bells would break over the edge of the hill and come down the slope to wait their turn at the troughs. Over Jordan we were never long out of the sound of the

Import of animals for food.

[1] Deut. xxxii. 14; Ezek. xxxix. 18; Micah vii. 14; Jer. l. 19; Ps. xxii. 13 [Eng. 12].

[2] 2 Kings iii. 4; compare the passages on Reuben and Gad, Judges v. 16; Num. xxxii. 1 ff., etc.

[3] Cant. iv. 1; vi. 5.

lowing of cattle or of the shepherd's pipe.'[1] Consequently the import of sheep and other cattle from Eastern Palestine and Arabia to Jerusalem has been constant through the centuries. The greater amount of the spoil taken by kings of Judah from Arab tribes was in sheep.[2] A prophet of the period immediately after the Exile looks to Arabia for the City's supplies of sheep in the days of her coming glory: *all the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister to thee: they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar.*[3] In the extract we have already quoted from Eupolemos, a Jew of the second century,[4] we are told that while the wheat was brought from Samaria, Galilee, and Eastern Palestine, and there was sufficient oil in Judæa herself, 'cattle to be slaughtered for food shall be supplied from Arabia.' Similarly in Mohammedan times Jerusalem imported lambs from 'Ammân.[5] And during the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem raids were made by the Crusaders upon the Arab and Turkoman shepherds of the pastures to the north-west of the Lake of Galilee for the purpose of carrying off their flocks.[6]

As for riding and draught animals, we have seen that the only one in use in Jerusalem from the first was the ass. The horse, the mule and even the camel were not introduced to the Judæan hills or Jerusalem till a period

[1] *H.G.H.L.* 523 f.

[2] 1 Chron. v. 21 (the tribe Reuben from the Hagrites, but it illustrates the experience of the later monarchy); 1 Sam. xxvii. 9 (David from the Amalekites, etc.); 2 Kings iii. 4 (Mesha's tribute to Israel); 2 Chron. xiv. 15 (Asa's spoil from the Kushite Arabs, not *Ethiopians* as in E.V.); xvii. 11 (Jehoshaphat's tribute from the Arabians), etc.

[3] Isa. lx. 7. [4] Above, p. 315. [5] Above, p. 315 *n.* 2.

[6] *e.g.* the treacherous attack during a time of peace in 1157, Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, 287.

which, in each case, it is possible to define with tolerable certainty. This was not because the region is very unsuitable to any of them. They abound there to-day, and are usefully employed for all sorts of traffic and agriculture. But none of them is indigenous to Syria, and the directions of their appearances in Western Asia may be clearly traced.

Import of riding and draught animals.

Not indigenous to Syria, the Camel must have been familiar to her inhabitants from a very early period through the desert traders with whom her primitive commerce was chiefly conducted. So great an authority as W. Max Müller says that 'the assertion that the ancient Egyptians knew the camel is unfounded.'[1] Nor, curiously enough, is there any mention of the beast in the Tell el-Amarna letters, even when these speak of the caravans that pass through Syria. In the Old Testament, camels are first assigned to the Ishmaelites, and included among the property of the Patriarchs. But there is no mention of them in connection with Israel either throughout the wanderings in the wilderness or on the entry into Canaan. The first of the settled Israelites to whom they are attributed is David, and it is significant that the keeper of his camels was an Ishmaelite. They became common in the later history, for caravans if not for agriculture, till they were almost as familiar as the ass. Numbers were in the spoil Sennacherib took from Hezekiah. The camel was, of course, the one-humped variety.[2]

1. The Camel.

[1] *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Camel,' § 3.

[2] Hebrew גָּמָל *gāmāl*; as the property of the Patriarchs, Gen. xii. 16; xxiv. 19, etc.; xxx. 43; of the Arabs, xxxvii. 25; cf. Judges vi. 5; vii. 12; viii. 21; 1 Sam. xv. 3; 1 Ki. x. 2, etc.; David's camels, 1 Sam. xxvii. 9; 1 Chron. xxvii. 30; not used in agriculture, Deut. xxii. 10; forbidden as

2. The Horse.

The Horse was probably not used in early Jerusalem. Introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos after 1800 B.C., horses were never very common there.[1] By 1600 B.C. they were used in war, with chariots, in Palestine;[2] and in the Tell el-Amarna letters they are mentioned as imported to Egypt from Mesopotamia and Cyprus, and as used in Syria for journeys.[3] None of these notices, however, refers to Jerusalem. King Solomon appears to have been the first to introduce them there, or at least into his kingdom, for the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is unfitted for chariots, and the depôts of the royal chariots were, as we shall see, in other cities. The true reading of the passage relative to their introduction is as follows: *the export of horses for Solomon was out of Muṣri and Ḳuë; the dealers of the king brought them out of Ḳuë for a price.*[4] Muṣri here is not Egypt, but the north-Syrian state of that name: Ḳuë is Cilicia. Horses came from north to south in Western Asia, probably first from Asia Minor, and at the hands of the Hittites. The Phrygians are called by Homer 'they of the fleet steeds.' According to Ezekiel, the Phœnicians traded in them with the people of Togarmah, perhaps part of Armenia. It is probable, however, that some were brought into Israel from Egypt, where the breed was good.[5] By the ninth century the

food, xiv. 7; Lev. xi. 4; in caravans, Isa. xxx. 6; lx. 6; Ezra ii. 67; Neh. vii. 69; 1 Chr. xii. 40; Zech. xiv. 15; Sennacherib's Inscr., *Taylor Cylinder*, iii. 18.

[1] W. Max Müller, *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Egypt,' § 9.

[2] Annals of Thothmes III.; cf. Judges v. 22.

[3] *e.g.* Nos. 16, 26, 27, 51. Cf. the phrase *thy groom*, 224-227, 235, etc.

[4] 1 Kings x. 28 f., according to the Greek; cf. Winckler, *A. T. Untersuch.* 108 ff.

[5] *Iliad*, iii. 185; Ezek. xxvii. 14; Deut. xvii. 16, where Miṣraim is evidently Egypt; cf. W. Max Müller, *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Egypt,' § 38.

horse and the chariot were sufficiently identified with the armaments of Northern Israel to form a figure for the two prophets who had so materially contributed to the national defence: *my father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof.*[1] By the eighth century, horses and chariots had become very numerous in both kingdoms. They are nearly always mentioned by the prophets in connection with war or foreign subsidies for war.[2] An ancient proverb speaks of the horse as *prepared against the day of battle*:—

> '*As oft as the trumpet soundeth he neigheth,*
> *And smelleth the battle afar off,*
> *The thunder of the captains and the shouting.*'[3]

The prophets always include the cavalry as a formidable element in the hosts of the northern invaders of Palestine.[4] Naturally the Israelites used horses less in the highlands of Judah than in other parts of the country: the instances of horses or chariots at Jerusalem are extremely few compared with those given for the broad avenues of Northern Israel.[5] Still, as early as Athaliah's time there was *a horse entry* to the palace in Jerusalem, and a Horse-gate on the Wall.[6] Under Manasseh we shall see the introduction of the worship of the horses of the Sun.[7]

[1] 2 Kings ii. 12; xiii. 14; cf. 1 Kings xviii. 5, 44; xxii. 34 ff.; 2 Kings ix. 16 ff. [2] Amos iv. 10; Hosea i. 7; xiv. 3; Isa. ii. 7; xxxi. 1, 3.

[3] Prov. xxi. 31; Job xxxix. 25; cf. Jer. viii. 6; Nah. iii. 2.

[4] Especially Jeremiah.

[5] Cf. *H.G.H.L.* 330; and add 2 Sam. xv. 1, Absalom's *one* chariot.

[6] 2 Kings xi. 16; 2 Chron. xxiii. 15: the reading, however, in both cases is not quite certain.

[7] Hebrew names for the horse are (1) סוּס *sûs*; (2) פָּרָשׁ *pārāsh*; (3) רֶכֶשׁ *rekesh* (uncertain); (4) perhaps also בְּנֵי הָרַמָּכִים, Esth. viii. 10. For other possible names see *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2114. Poetically the horse was called אַבִּיר *'abbîr*, mighty.

Before Solomon's time Jerusalem had become acquainted with the Mule. When mules were introduced to Syria and Egypt from Asia Minor we do not know. There is a possible, but ambiguous, piece of evidence for their appearance in Egypt as early as the reign of Thothmes III.[1] In Jerusalem they first appeared in the time of David, ridden by the King and the King's sons;[2] only later did they become baggage animals,[3] as they are chiefly to-day in Syria, though sometimes, as in David's time, used for riding by officials. Sennacherib carried away many from Judah, and in the post-exilic period their use seems to have been very frequent in spite of the law against breeding them.[4] The one Hebrew name does not distinguish between the mule, the offspring of the he-ass and mare, German *Maulthier*, and the hinny or burdown, child of the stallion and she-ass, German *Maulesel*.[5] The most able and interesting of all the animals of the East, the mule is almost as closely associated with the landscapes round Jerusalem as the ass, and it is interesting to find it there in the history as

3. The Mule.

[1] W. Max Müller, *Neue Darstellungen mykenischer Gesandter, etc., in altägypt. Wandgemälden* (*Mitteil. der vorderasiat. Gesellschaft*, 1904, 2), p. 33 *n.* 1. This, along with *Beiträge z. Assyr.* iv. 542, and Anderlind's paper on the Mule in *M.u.N.D.P.V.*, should be consulted in addition to the articles 'Mule' in the *Enc. Bibl.* and in Hastings' *D.B.*

[2] 2 Sam. xiii. 29; xviii. 9; 1 Kings i. 33, 38, 44.

[3] 2 Kings v. 17; Isa. lxvi. 20; 1 Chron. xii. 40; Judith xv. 11.

[4] Sennacherib, *Prism Inscription*, iii. 18 ff. Post-exilic references, Ezra ii. 66; Neh. vii. 68; Ps. xxxii. 9 (compare the modern Arabic proverb, 'keep away from both ends of a mule'), etc. Ezek. xxvii. 14 says they were imported by Phœnicians from Togarmah. Law against breeding them, Lev. xix. 19.

[5] Heb. פֶּרֶד *pered* (fem. *pirdah*), from which comes the mediæval Latin *burdo*, Old Eng. *burdown*. On the proper use of the German terms, often confused, see Anderlind as above.

early as David. But neither horses nor mules were much used as pack-animals in Palestine in ancient times. In the days of Josephus, camels and asses were still the common beasts of lading. Mules, however, are also mentioned by him.[1]

As we have seen, there are no minerals in the rocks of the surroundings of Jerusalem; whatever metal was used by the inhabitants had to be imported. For early Babylonia and Egypt the sources of gold—besides the mines of Egypt and Nubia—were mainly in Arabia;[2] in harmony with which one of the earliest Old Testament records of gold, after the settlement of Israel, is that of the earrings and other ornaments which Gideon took from the Ishmaelites.[3] In the spoil which Achan stole was a *tongue of gold of fifty shekels' weight.* Professor Cheyne's ingenious emendation of the word for tongue[4] is unnecessary, since Mr. R. A. S. Macalister's discovery at Gezer of a bar of gold whose weight, 860 *grammes*, is 'not far from fifty shekels . . . its shape was long, narrow, and slightly curved; it might well be described as a *tongue.*'[5] We may conclude from these two instances that the shape was a usual one. David brought gold to Jerusalem among the spoils which he took in war;[6] and no doubt the tradition is sound which implies a great increase of this precious metal

Imported Metals: 1. Gold.

[1] *Life*, 24, 26.

[2] See § 7 of the author's article on 'Trade and Commerce' in *Enc. Bibl.*, with the references given there. The following may be added: Ezek. xxvii. 22; Pseudo-Aristeas, Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Introd. to O. T. in Greek*, 539.

[3] Judges viii. 24 ff.

[4] *Enc. Bibl.* col. 1751; Josh. vii. 21.

[5] *Bible Side-lights from the Mound at Gezer*, 122.

[6] 2 Sam. viii. 7, 11; 1 Kings vii. 51.

through the policy and the trade of Solomon.[1] In these, other monarchs imitated him. The hunger for gold was no doubt the motive of the many attempts to re-open his commerce with the Red Sea and Arabia. Other sources were spoil of war, tribute, and tolls upon the caravans which passed through Israel between Arabia and Phœnicia. The gold of Arabia must have been in large part the secret of the wealth of the Nabateans, who in the first century before Christ financed Antipater and Herod. The metal was hoarded either in *tongues* or men's and women's ornaments, or, chiefly, in the ornament and furniture of the Temple. But, as we shall see, these stores of it were periodically depleted for payment to the conquerors and liege-lords of Israel. The number of terms for gold in Hebrew prove at once the number of sources from which the metal came and the people's familiarity with the working of it.[2] Of the caravans which now enter the Holy City, the most interesting and picturesque are those which come up from Arabia; but the costliness of many of their burdens in ancient times adds to

[1] 1 Kings vi. ff.

[2] The oldest terms seem to be (1) חָרוּץ *ḥārûṣ*, archaic and poetical in Hebrew, usual in Phœn. and Ass., cf. χρυσός, and (2) כֶּתֶם *kethem*, poetical in Hebrew, also found in Egyptian and Sabæan, and probably from the name of a land: *e.g.* 'the good gold of Katm' (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 464; cf. W. Max Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 76 *n.* 1). The commonest term is (3) זָהָב *zāhāb* (also in Aram. and Arab.), both alone and with a number of epithets, thus: זָהָב מוּפָז, *refined gold*, of which פַּז *paz* may be an abbreviated form; זָהָב טָהוֹר, *clean gold*, a synonym for the preceding; זָהָב שָׁחוּט, *beaten gold*; זָהָב סָגוֹר, *closed*, that is probably *stanch* or *sterling gold*, but compare the Assyrian expression as to silver, *kanku*, 'sealed,' or 'enclosed in sealed sacks' (Joh *Bab. and Ass. Laws*, etc., p. 253); and זָהָב אוֹפִיר, *gold of Ophir*.

their vividness, and in that remote haze picks them out in gold to our eyes.

2. Silver.

In contrast with its many words for gold the Hebrew language has but one for Silver, *keseph*, usually understood to mean the pale metal in distinction from its ruddy fellow. This is plausible, for in post-Biblical Hebrew the word has the signification of whiteness, but not at all certain. The primary meaning may be, as in Arabic, 'to cut off,' and the name have been given to the metal because it was the first to be cut off into definite *pieces*: the name of several coins.[1] Silver was rare in Egypt before 1600 B.C., and had a higher value than gold: its sources were Asiatic.[2] But soon thereafter the supplies must have enormously increased, for by 1400, according to the Tell el-Amarna letters, the metal was in pieces used for payments.[3] In the time of the Judges it was common enough in Israel to be employed in the definite form of *shekels* or *weights*.[4] David stamped shekels, presumably of silver.[5] According to the tradition, silver was even more plentiful than gold in Jerusalem under Solomon: the quantity of its import would prevent that enhancement of its value which otherwise must have followed from the great increase of gold under the king: for *silver was nothing*

[1] כֶּסֶף; on the root as meaning 'pale' see Robertson Smith, *Journ. of Philol.* xiv. 125, but in the *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 39 *n.* 5, it is shown how even the meaning of נִכְסָף, *ashamed* or *baffled*, is more easily derivable from the root sense of *kasaph*, 'to cut off,' than from 'paleness.' Barth (*Etym. Studies*, 61) derives נכסף from the same root *kasaph*, but in the sense of 'to be deprived.' The chief support of the derivation from *paleness* lies, of course, in the undoubted use of *kasaph* in post-Biblical Hebrew for *whiteness*. In support of the other derivation is the O.T. use of כֶּסֶף in the plural as meaning *pieces* of silver.

[2] *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Egypt,' § 38.

[3] No. 280, 8; cf. 11, 21.

[4] Judges xvii. 2, etc.; 1 Sam. ix. 8.

[5] 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

accounted of in the days of Solomon; he made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones.[1] Certainly after this it continues to rank as the second of the precious metals, and virtually to mean money. According to Ezekiel and the Book of Jeremiah, Tyre imported silver from Tarshish.[2]

On the relative values of gold and silver, and on the various weights made from these metals and in current use, a full account has been given by Professor A. R. S. Kennedy in his article on 'Money' in Dr. Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible.*

3. Electrum. Precious Stones.

Besides gold and silver the Jews, at least in Babylonia, appear to have known that mixture of the two metals which was called by the Greeks Elektron.[3] How many of what we count the precious stones were known or used by the Jews is uncertain: the reader must be referred to the Bible dictionaries and encyclopædias.[4]

4. Copper and Bronze.

Of what we call the useful metals, Copper was used universally in Canaan at the time of Israel's arrival, nearly pure and with alloy of tin as bronze.[5] It is the latter which is meant by the Old English term *brass* used in our versions: 'in the Old Testament this never refers to the alloy of zinc to which the term is now confined.'[6] The sources of copper for Palestine and

[1] 1 Kings x. 21, 27. [2] Ezek. xxvii. 12; Jer. x. 9.

[3] חַשְׁמַל, Ezek. i. 4, 27; viii. 2.

[4] *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Stones (Precious),' J. L. Myres; Hastings' *D.B.*, Flinders Petrie. [5] Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 39, 60, 67, 80, 188 f.

[6] J. H. Gladstone, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1898, 253 *n.* 1, in a paper on the metals of antiquity, reprinted from *Nature*. See also *Athenæum*, Feb. 3, 1906, 4084, for report of a paper on 'Copper and its Alloys in Antiquity,' by the President of the Anthropological Institute. In his opinion, bronze was made directly from a copper ore containing tin long before the two metals were artificially mixed. There are other interesting details.

Egypt were Cyprus, the Lebanons, where was the land of Nuḥashshi or bronze, and also Edom and North Arabia.[1] From the country of Zobah, at the foot of Hermon, identified with 'the land of Nuḥashshi,' David brought away much bronze,[2] but there seems to have been no Israelite worker in the metal, for Solomon had to import Ḥuram-abi from Tyre.[3] From that time onwards bronze was too prevalent in Jerusalem for all manner of purposes to require detailed notice.[4] In Egypt, as in parts of Africa to-day, copper wire was used as a standard of exchange.[5] But we have no record of a similar use in Syria. In the Tell el-Amarna letters and the Old Testament the shekels seem to be invariably of silver or gold.

The Bronze age in Palestine appears to have lasted at least till about the date of the arrival of Israel in the land; then, or perhaps later, Iron was introduced. Like copper, iron also came out of the North,[6] where in Lebanon there were mines of it worked by the Phœnicians.[7] But it was probably imported to Babylonia as early as 2500 B.C. from Arabia.[8] There were other sources nearer to Judah. Some have denied that the promise to Israel of finding iron in the rocks of their

5. Iron.

[1] For Cyprus (Alasia) see Tell el-Amarna letters, Nos. 25, 27, 31 ff. For other references see the author's article 'Trade,' etc., in *Enc. Bibl.*, § 7.

[2] 2 Sam. viii. 8.

[3] 1 Kings vii. 13 ff.; 2 Chron. ii. 12.

[4] The Hebrews had but the one word נְחֹשֶׁת, *nĕḥosheth* (with the adjective נְחוֹשׁ), for both copper and bronze.

[5] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 494 ff.
Jer. xv. 12.

[7] One is mentioned above Beyrut by Idrisi, *Z.D.P.V.* viii. 134. Ramman-Nirari III., King of Assyria, mentions iron as well as copper among the tribute he received from Aram-Damascus.

[8] Hommel, *Geogr. u. Gesch. des Alten Orients*, 13.

land is justified by the geological facts.[1] But ancient sources of the ore have been discovered at Ikzim on Mount Carmel and near Burme, north of the Jabbok; and Josephus mentions in the Eastern Range a mountain 'called the Iron Mountain, which runs in length as far as Moab.'[2] The Pseudo-Aristeas says that both iron and copper used to be brought before the Persian period 'from the neighbouring mountains of Arabia.'[3] The Hebrew name for it (*barzel*) is not native,[4] and in estimating the number of passages in which it occurs in the Old Testament we must keep in mind that the same name was applied to basalt, as it is to-day by the Arabs east of Jordan.[5] David is said to have had iron in abundance, but in any case, by the ninth and eighth centuries the metal was known, and by the seventh was common in Israel, and smelting-furnaces were used.[6] The excess of the number of references in Jeremiah and Deuteronomy over those in previous writers may point to a great increase of the metal in Israel at some date shortly before 650 B.C.

Lead appears to have been used in Israel partly for the mason's plummet, as wire, for purifying silver, and as writing-tablets.[7] It was probably not always distin-

[1] Deut. viii. 9. [2] *Z.D.P.V.* xxx. 129; iv. *B.J.* viii. 2.

[3] Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, 540.

[4] Heb. בַּרְזֶל.

[5] *E.g.* Og's bedstead, *i.e.* sarcophagus (cf. 2 Chron. xvi. 14), was of basalt, not iron, Deut. iii. 11; and the threshing sledges of barzel were no doubt the same as the sledges of the present day, toothed with sharp fragments of basalt, Amos i. 3. Similarly perhaps Jer. i. 18, Ezek. iv. 3.

[6] 1 Kings xxii. 11; Isa. x. 34; Micah iv. 13; Jer. i. 18; xv. 12; xvii. 1; xxviii. 13; Deut. viii. 9, etc.; Ezek. iv. 3; xxvii. 12; smelting furnaces, Jer. xi. 4; Deut. iv. 20; Ezek. xxii. 17 ff.; but cf. 1 Kings viii. 51 (Dt.).

[7] Ex. xv. 10; Amos vii. 7 f.; Jer. vi. 29; Ezek. xxii. 18 ff.; Job xix. 23 f. Heb. עֹפֶרֶת, *'ophereth*. Lead-wire, Bliss, *A Mound, etc.*, 189.

guished from Tin, known from early times as an alloy of copper to make bronze.[1] Antimony was probably very rare, and it may not have been this but some oxide of lead or sulphide of copper which was used in the eye-paints employed by Hebrew women.[2] 6. Lead, Tin, etc.

As necessary to the domestic uses of the citizens were the harder forms of stone for their corn-rubbers and hand-mills. Basalt and the firmer sandstone are, as we have seen, not found in Judah. They must have been imported.[3] But it is very singular that in the remains of a town where 'the dull rumour of the running millstone' was constantly heard, almost no old rubbers or querns should yet have been recovered, and so few other pieces of ancient basalt.[4] Basalt.

Incense, perfumes, spices and drugs were imported from Arabia;[5] but, as we shall see, it is doubtful whether incense was used in Israel till the seventh century B.C., or adopted in the regular worship of the Temple till after the return from Babylon. The rest were imported into Israel from the earliest times. Incense, spices, etc.

Other possible imports for common use were Wool and Flax. On these as articles of trade, the Biblical data are meagre and difficult. On the one hand, Amos of Teḳoa' seems to have carried the fleeces of his sheep to markets beyond Judah;[6] but on the other, Wool.

[1] Tin is בְּדִיל, *bĕdhîl*, the separated metal; Ezek. xxii. 18, 20; xxvii. 12; Zech. iv. 10 (as a plummet); Num. xxxi. 22.

[2] For this the Hebrew was פּוּךְ, *pûkh*, the N. Heb. כָּחוֹל *kāhol* (cf. Jer. iv. 30; Ezek. xxiii. 40).

[3] See above on Iron.

[4] Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* i. 292, a piece of a laver or sarcophagus of basalt; cf. 137. Ossuaries found are always of limestone, 134.

[5] Incense, לְבֹנָה, Gr. λιβανωτός, Jer. vi. 20; Isa. lx. 6; cf. Pseudo-Aristeas, Thackeray's ed. as above, 539; Pliny, *H.N.* xii. 30. Spices, etc., Gen. xxxvii. 25; Ezek. xxvii. 22.

[6] *Book of the Twelve* (*Exp. Bible*), vol. i.

wool is not mentioned by Ezekiel in his list of Judæan exports to Tyre, and we may therefore conclude that just before the Exile the population used all that their own flocks produced, as well as the fleeces of the numerous animals imported from abroad.[1] Probably the whole of the surplus stock was turned into home-spun, which we know was sold to Phœnician pedlars for export.[2] The woollen garments of Syria were prized in Egypt.

Flax.

In Judah proper Flax cannot have been cultivated. The Jordan valley is favourable to its growth, and we find it there both in the earliest times and in the latest.[3] It was probably thence that it came into Judah, where it was spun for their own use and for sale by the women of the families.[4] But flax was also largely and finely cultivated in Egypt.[5] It is interesting that out of the half-dozen references to it in the Old Testament two should occur in Isaiah xl.-lv., which was written in Babylonia.[6]

These, then, are the certain and probable imports of Jerusalem during the period when she was a political and religious capital. The next stage of our inquiry is that concerning the sources from which the City derived her

[1] Wool, צֶמֶר *ṣemer*, Hos. ii. 7, 11; Prov. xxxi. 13; Ezek. xxxiv. 3; 2 Ki. iii. 4 (tribute). The shorn fleece, גֵּז, גִּזָּה, Deut. xviii. 4; Judg. vi. 37 ff. Sheep-shearing, 2 Sam. xiii. 23 ff.

[2] Prov. xxxi. 24.

[3] Josh. ii. 6; Hos. ii. 7, 11 (in N. Israel); Deut. xxii. 11; Prov. xxxi. 13; פִּשְׁתָּה *pēsheth*. *Totius Orbis Descriptio* (anonymous work of fourth Christian century, which places it about Bethshan).

[4] Prov. xxxi. 24.

[5] Ex. ix. 31; Isa. xix. 9.

[6] Isa. xlii. 3; xliii. 17.

purchasing-powers: the means of paying for these imports, necessary and nearly necessary to her life. Such means were various. *First* came her agriculture, in which, as we have seen, her fruit-trees, and especially her olives, furnished her with a surplus for exchange. We need not believe all that we are told by Jewish and Mohammedan writers as to the productiveness of Jerusalem's territory in oil and wine ; but at least the City's output of oil must have been very great in all but the most disastrous periods of her industry. There is evidence enough that in their oil alone the inhabitants enjoyed a rich means for the purchase of foreign products, and that their surplus stores were at least sufficient to pay for the wheat and the salt which they required to import. *Secondly*, there were the crafts and industries of the City which, as we shall see, very much increased from the eighth century onwards ; and which, while productive of very few articles desired by foreign lands or cities, at least manufactured those that were necessary to the life of the surrounding villages, and could be exchanged for country produce. *Thirdly*, there was the commerce, for which Jerusalem, by her elevated position and aloof from the great trunk roads, was peculiarly unfitted, but which political and fiscal interests attracted to her as the capital of a kingdom or a province. Besides that portion of her trade which had to do with the needs of her own citizens, there was, as we shall see, at certain periods, no inconsiderable amount of through traffic and exchange between the merchants of the Mediterranean coast and those of Arabia. The commissions upon all this, and the price of

The Power wherewith to Purchase these Imports.

1. The Surplus of Oil.

2. Crafts and Industries.

3. Commercial Profits.

handling, storing and passing it on, must have added in some degree to the purchasing-power of the community. But, above all, we must remember how much of the imported produce, by which the life of the City was sustained, came to her in the long periods of her prosperity without money and without price. So we must have regard, *fourthly*, to the revenues which her kings and governors derived either in kind or 'money' from their domains, or by tribute or taxation or customs; and *fifthly*, to the revenues of her Temple and Priesthood, who also had their domains beyond the City territory, and who enjoyed almost as many kinds of tribute and offering as the Crown itself.

4. The Royal Revenues.

5. The Temple Revenues.

Because in early times the king was himself the chief trader, and indeed to the end of our period continued to conduct commerce on his own behalf; and because the receipts from taxes and tribute were always one of the chief sources of his capital's income, it will be most convenient to consider the royal revenues first, then those of the Temple, then the riches of traders and other wealthy citizens, and then the common industries and crafts for which the City was never famous. As for the local agriculture, which lay behind all these and supplied the City's one natural surplus of oil, we have already sufficiently studied that in the chapter on her natural resources.

Order of following inquiry into these.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROYAL REVENUES: ESTATES, TRIBUTE, TITHES, TAXATION

IN pursuance of the plan laid down in the end of the preceding chapter, we begin our inquiry into the sources of the City's powers of purchase with an appreciation of the royal revenues, the bulk of which flowed into Jerusalem as the capital of the kingdom. In the course of the varying fortunes of the people—their independence and prosperity at some periods, the subjection of their kings as vassals of the great empires at others, at another the position of the City as a poor, hunger-bitten colony, and then, somewhat improved, as a small province with a foreign governor, and again as the seat of an independent kingdom—we can understand how the character and degree of her political revenues varied fundamentally from time to time. Here we give only a general view, reserving the details of the different periods for the subsequent chapters on the history.

The Fluctuations of these.

From the first the kings of Israel and Judah had their own domains partly within the territory of the City, but mostly beyond it. These domains consisted partly of the ancestral estates of the royal family—thus David appears to have given land to Chimham the son of Barzillai, in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem[1]—partly of lands taken by force or fraud from the people,[2] and partly of lands legally assigned to

The Royal Domains.

[1] 2 Sam. xix. 31-39, compared with Jer. xli. 17.

[2] 1 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Kings xxi. 16; also Nehemiah v.

the Crown. On this last Ezekiel, in his picture of the ideal state, lays emphasis as a means of preventing the temptation of the prince to oppress the people.[1] These estates varied in size, but under powerful monarchs were extensive. An apparently trustworthy tradition, preserved by the Chronicler, gives a list of officials under David who had the oversight of the king's tillage, of his vineyards, olives and sycomores, of his herds in Sharon and the valleys, of his flocks, camels and asses, of his olives in the fields, cities, villages and forts, and of his cellars of wine and oil.[2] It is a very considerable inventory of royal property, which must have increased under Solomon, and can never have been wholly lost by even the most unfortunate of their successors. The king, as we have seen, had his own officials for these estates, but it was also his custom to enlist for their cultivation the servants and the animals of the people.[3]

Tithes on Agricultural Produce.

Besides this private property in lands and cattle, the king is said to have received the tithes of the fields, vineyards, olive-yards and flocks of his people.[4] The fact is disputed,[5] but appears to be certain at least for the later kingdom. The proportion is a small one in light of the one-third delivered as rent to the Crown by the holders of *amîrîyeh* land under the present system of land-tenure; but the probability is that there was a land-tax in addition (see below), and that in any case unscrupulous officials found means of seriously increasing the amount. Under the

[1] Ezek. xlv. 7 f.; xlvi. 18.

[2] 1 Chron. xxvii. 25-31; see Benzinger *in loco*. The King's son Absalom had fields near Jerusalem, 2 Sam. xiv. 30, and sheep-shearers at Baal-hazor, xiii. 23.

[3] 1 Sam. viii. 16; cf. 1 Macc. x. 31; xi. 35.

[4] 1 Sam. viii. 15, 17.

[5] Wellh., *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* 63.

Persian governors of Judah this was actually the case, to such an extent that the people had to borrow money to pay the king's tribute, and so their lands became mortgaged.[1] The king, too, had his mowings off the spring herbage:[2] probably the same duty which the Roman governors of Syria annually imposed in the month Nisan.[3] Solomon (as we shall see) divided his kingdom into twelve provinces, each of which was bound to supply a month's victuals to his household;[4] and in the Persian period Nehemiah speaks of the *governor's bread* as *a bondage heavy upon the people*, which he himself demanded not of them.[5]

Another, though more irregular, source of the royal revenues was the tribute of vassal chiefs, paid both in cattle or wool, and in metals;[6] and whatever of this came to Judah in the days of the kingdom must have mostly found its way to Jerusalem. When Judah was a province of the Persian or of the Seleucid Empire, grants of material or of money were made by the sovereign lord for the repair of the city or other purposes.[7] Another source was spoil of war. As was the case in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, part of the booty taken in successful campaigns fell to the king,[8] and it is probable that, like David, the king would always, when possible, select his portion from the precious metals. From these two sources alone David and Solomon must have accumulated considerable treasure. Although many of the later kings were not so fortunate,

Tribute and Spoil of War.

[1] Neh. v. 4.
[2] Amos vii. 1 f.
[3] Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 228.
[4] 1 Kings iv. 7 ff.
[5] Neh. v. 14, 18.
[6] 2 Kings iii. 4; 1 Kings x. 10, 25.
[7] Neh. ii. 8; 1 Macc.
[8] 2 Sam. viii. 10 f.; xii. 30.

and the palace treasuries were frequently depleted to pay the indemnity of war or tribute, they also must have found means for replenishing these, because, as we shall see, there was nearly always a store of the metals either at the Palace or at the Temple, to which the kings invariably devoted some of their wealth.

Royal Trade.

In ancient times, as in Europe to a late date and still in some Eastern states, the king kept at least the foreign trade in his own hands.[1] David's regulation of trade is proved by his stamping of shekels used as weights.[2] More explicit are the statements about Solomon. It was Solomon's own agents who managed the importation of horses from Cilicia and the Syrian Muṣri, and who undertook the voyage down the Red Sea.[3] The annals of other kings of Judah record the royal initiative in the same direction. Imports resulting from such enterprises would naturally be paid in olive oil,[4] but part of the payment may have been in gold or silver; and in one case we are told that land was ceded in exchange.[5] Conversely, some of the imports were themselves in gold and silver. We are safe in assuming at certain periods a considerable accession to the royal revenues from the direct trading of the kings. As in later times, salt also may have been a royal monopoly.

Taxation.

Again, a considerable part of the royal revenues which flowed into Jerusalem was derived from taxation, in addition to the king's tithes. The data supplied by the Old Testament are so defective that it is best before considering them to review the fuller

[1] See the author's article, 'Trade and Commerce,' *Enc. Bibl.*, §§ 11, etc.
[2] 2 Sam. xiv. 26.
[3] See above, p. 324.
[4] 1 Kings v. 11.
[5] 1 Kings ix. 11.

information which is at our disposal from the later periods of the City's history. We may begin with the indirect taxation, and take first of all the duties levied on the transit trade of the country.

Customs and Tolls

The position of Palestine, between Arabia with its stores of incense, salt, balsam and some of the precious metals, and the Phœnician cities on the Levant, and between Egypt and Damascus, with the further trade to the Euphrates, has conferred upon the masters of the land constant opportunities for levying dues on the transit trade. Of these the Seleucids, the Maccabees, the Herods, the Romans and the Crusaders took full advantage. We have seen that the Maccabees in their campaigns paid attention not only to the military opportunities of the soil, but to the lines of traffic across it. Two of the passes through the Judæan and the Samarian hills were strongly fortified by Herod the Great, who also held the tolls at Gaza for Arabia by Petra and for Egypt.[1] Later Strabo describes how the Phylarchs on the Syrian border of the empire exacted heavier customs than did the independent chiefs of the nomads from the caravans passing from Babylonia,[2] and Pliny mentions the imperial customs at Gaza for the through trade in incense between Petra and Europe.[3] To use Pliny's phrase, it was the 'imperii nostri publicani' who lifted these dues for the imperial treasury at the borders of those provinces that were directly governed by Rome, such as Judæa in our Lord's time. Therefore Zacchæus of Jericho, an *architelones*, or *chief publican*, in that border town of Judæa, was a 'publicanus

in later ages in Palestine;

[1] *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Trade and Commerce,' 5189.
[2] *Geogr.* xvi. 1, 27.
[3] *Hist. Nat.* xii. 32.

imperii.'[1] But, with the restriction that Roman citizens should be free, the empire granted the customs of cities and kingdoms confederate with Rome to their own governments. And therefore Matthew at Capernaum[2] was an official or lessee of the customs of Herod the Tetrarch.[3] There is, indeed, still extant the list of the duties levied on goods entering one of these semi-independent states: the very full and exact Tariff of Palmyra, of the year 137 A.D., in Greek and Palmyrene Aramaic.[4] The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, lying as it did between Egypt and Damascus, both of which were Mohammedan, furnishes instances more exactly illustrative of the Old Testament conditions. From the year 1116 at least[5] Moslem caravans traversed the Christian territories. As William of Tyre informs us, the crusading fortress of Darum was erected not only for the defence of the villages in its neighbourhood, but in order to exact a toll from traders who passed it.[6] In the north, Toron and other castles served the same purpose,[7] and eastwards, Montroyal on the road from Egypt to Damascus.[8] In assigning the latter to one of the nobles, Baldwin III.

in N.T. Times;

under the Latin Kingdom;

[1] Luke xix. 1, 2. [2] Matt. ix. 9, etc.

[3] So Schürer, *Hist.*, div. i. vol. ii. 67 f.

[4] The full text, with translation and notes, in G. A. Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 313-340.

[5] *Historiens Orientaux des Croisades* (in the *Recueil des Hist. des Croisades*), iii. 498: extract from Nojûm ez-Zahîreh.

[6] *Hist.* xx. 20: 'ut . . . de transeuntibus statutas consuetudines plenius et facilius sibi posset habere.'

[7] Ibn Jobair, *Hist. Orientaux des Croisades*, iii. 447; Rey, *Colonies Franques*, 260.

[8] Charter of Baldwin III. in Röhricht's *Regesta Regni Hieros.*, No. 366: 'salvis regis caravanis quaecunque de partibus Alexandriae et totius Aegypti in urbem Baldach et e converso transeunt.'

distinctly reserves for himself the tolls upon caravans passing from Egypt to Damascus or *vice-versâ*.

All these instances reflect upon certain passages of the Old Testament. Under their light we cannot doubt that Solomon fortified Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Beth-horon the nether, Baalath, and Tamar— cities commanding important lines of traffic[1] —not so much for the defence of his kingdom as to secure the payment of customs by merchants bringing in goods to his country and of tolls by those who would pass through it.[2] The Judæan narrative of Jacob and his sons (as early at least as the eighth century) implies that traders to a foreign land took with them a *gift* or *tribute* to the king.[3] Among the duties which the Book of Ezra declares to have been levied by the pre-exilic kings of Judah, one, *hălāk*, is evidently *way-money* or *toll*; the other two, *middah* and *bĕlō*, may be different forms of customs, though as the three seem to cover all the royal taxes, it is probable that one of them is the name of a direct tax, and *bĕlō* is explained by some as a poll-tax.[4]

and in the Old Testament.

Whether in addition to these customs and tolls levied at some guard-house near the frontier of the country duties were also paid as the goods passed through the gates of the capital and other towns, the Old Testament does not say, unless either the *middah* or the *bĕlō* was *octroi*. But Antiochus the Great

Octroi Duties.

[1] See below, Bk. III. ch. iii. Baalath is the only one whose position is unknown.

[2] Such duties appear to be mentioned in 1 Kings x. 15, but the list is too corrupt to permit us to be certain.

[3] Gen. xliii. 11, מִנְחָה *minḥah*, at first only *a present*, came to mean a statutory tribute.

[4] Ezra iv. 13, 20; vii. 24. See the vocabulary to 'Trade and Commerce,' *Enc. Bibl.* col. 5198, בְּלוֹ מִדָּה, הֶלֶךְ.

decreed that the materials for repairing the Temple should be admitted duty free, as well those that come *out of Judah* as those from elsewhere;[1] which proves that under the Seleucids at least gate-moneys or *octrois* were levied at Jerusalem. Whether Matthew the publican who *sat at receipt of custom* in Capernaum lifted *octroi* duties, or tolls from caravans traversing the Via Maris from Damascus, or customs on goods entering Galilee from the territory of Philip, is uncertain; and the tax imposed by Herod and removed by Vitellius seems to have been one levied on sales in the market.[2] But under the Latin kings dues were levied at the gates of Jerusalem and other towns in their realm. These are mentioned in a number of charters. Baldwin II., upon the Patriarch's representation that the customs hitherto exacted 'in the gate from those who brought in wheat, barley and vegetables,' are very hard upon the pilgrims, remits the same, and 'absolves from all exactions any who wish to bring in through the gates of Jerusalem wheat, barley, beans, lentils and peas.'[3] Amalrich I. grants to the house of St. Lazarus seventy-two besants 'to be annually received from the gate of David.'[4] The *Assises de Jérusalem* contains a list of articles on which duty was payable, whether they were brought by land or sea, into Acre;[5] and of the Acre *douane* we have an interesting description from the Arab, Ibn Jobair.[6] These illustrations from Crusading times are useful not

[1] Jos. xii. *Ant.* iii. 3.

[2] Jos. xvii. *Ant.* viii. 4; xviii. *Ant.* iv. 3.

[3] This document is given in *Assises de Jérusalem*, Tome II. (in the *Rec. des Hist. des Croisades*), on pp. 485 f.; cf. Röhricht's *Regesta*, etc., No. 91, and Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre, No. 45.

[4] Röhricht, No. 487.

[5] Tome II., chapter ccxlii.: of the *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, cf. 485 *n.a.*

[6] *Hist. Orient. des Crois.*, iii. 449.

only in showing how *octrois* were levied in the towns of Palestine, but in illustrating how they might be remitted in favour of pilgrims, and even assigned in part to religious institutions, of which Jerusalem was the home from the time of Solomon onwards.

We have evidence that certain Babylonian dues called *miksu* were *octroi* duties, for they were levied at the quays and ferries.[1]

Besides these forms of indirect taxation of the people, it would appear that the monarchs of Judah raised other taxes directly from families, individuals, and upon property.

Family, Poll, and Property Taxes.

That a family tax existed from an early period of the monarchy may be argued from the promise that any successful champion of Israel against the Philistine grant shall have his *father's house* made *free in Israel*.[2] This, however, may mean only that the fruits of his field were to be free from the king's tithe. Wellhausen thinks that 'the land-tax was unknown in Palestine,'[3] and in this opinion is supported by Benzinger.[4] The reason given, the account of Joseph's introduction of it into Egypt, appears insufficient. It is also a fair inference from David's numbering of the people that he had a poll-tax in view; and in a great emergency a property-tax was exacted by the King.[5] Under the Persians an assessment was made for the governor;[6] and besides land-taxes (1 Macc. x. 30) the Seleucids imposed a poll-tax,[7] which, however, in part, was really a trade tax.[8] The Romans levied both a

[1] Johns, *Babyl. and Assyr. Laws*, etc., 206.
[2] 1 Sam. xvii. 25.
[3] *Israel. u. Jüd. Gesch.* 63.
[4] *Enc. Bibl.* col. 1908.
[5] 2 Kings xxiii. 35.
[6] Neh. v. 14.
[7] Jos. xii. *Ant.* iii. 3, iv. 1.
[8] See Schürer, *Gesch.*, § 6 *n.* 14.

property and various poll-taxes.[1] But to the direct taxation of the kings of Judah a nearer analogy than all these is found in the fiscal measures of the Latin kings, both because the methods were similar and the results immediately affected Jerusalem, in both cases the seat of the royal treasury. Just as Jehoiakim raised a direct tax to meet an extraordinary emergency, so Baldwin IV. in 1177 decreed a levy to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem,[2] and in 1182 to replenish the exhausted treasury a graduated tax was imposed of 2 per cent. on incomes from rents, 1 per cent. on wages and all properties above 100 besants, less on those below, with 1 besant for each hearth in a *casale*.[3]

By all such fiscal institutions the kings of Israel fed the treasury, and laid up from time to time stores of the precious metals. *I gathered me*, says Ecclesiastes, *silver and gold, and the private property of kings and of the provinces*.[4] But as we shall see in the course of the history, the military misfortunes of Judah, as well as her prolonged subjections to the Assyrian empire, drained the palace treasury. To meet these emergencies the monarchs had recourse to the stores of precious metals accumulated in the Temple partly by their own gifts and partly from other sources. To the Temple treasures we shall turn in the next chapter.

Mercenary Garrisons in Jerusalem.

But before we do so, we must look at one department of the royal administration for which many of its taxes were exacted from the people, and upon which both these and the royal profits from trade were bestowed, with a proportionate effect upon the spending-powers of the City. The department

[1] Schürer, *Gesch.*[3], § 17, excursus 1, pp. 511 ff.

[2] William of Tyre, *Hist.* xxi. 25; cf. Gaston Dodu, *Histoire des Institutions monarchiques dans le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 256.

[3] William of Tyre, *Hist.* xxii. 23; cf. Dodu as above.

[4] Eccles. ii. 8.

I mean is a military one: the mercenary garrison which, from David onwards, the most, if not all, of the kings of Judah sustained in Jerusalem. In the history of Western Asia this is a phenomenon which regularly appears in every state upon any considerable increase of its commerce.[1] The native militia, proper to agricultural conditions of life, is supplemented or even replaced by a mercenary army, often largely composed of foreigners. The history of Jerusalem, as the capital of Israel, began with such a garrison.[2] David, whose earlier political fortunes had required him to raise a troop of freebooters,[3] gathered from the detached and discontented among his countrymen, had no sooner established his kingdom than he enlisted a force of guards, partly, no doubt, from among the tried comrades of the days of his wanderings, who were sons of Judah, and partly from foreigners.[4] Under his successors these guards are found on duty round the person of the king, in the Palace and in the Temple.[5] Isaiah

[1] See the author's 'Trade and Commerce' in *Enc. Bibl.*, §§ 11, 48, 55 *n.* 1 (a reference to Nebuchadrezzar's mercenaries should have been added to 56), 63, etc. (both footnotes), 66; cf. W. H. Bennett's 'Army,' § 7, and G. F. Moore's 'Cherethites' in the same encyclopædia.

[2] There is one earlier instance in the history of Israel, that of Abimelech, Judges ix. 4.

[3] 'Perkin was not followed by any English of name, his forces consisted mostly of base people and *freebooters*, fitter to spoil a coast than recover a kingdom.'—Bacon.

[4] 1 Sam. xxii. 1 f.; 2 Sam. viii. 18; xv. 18; xx. 7, 23; 1 Kings i. 38, 44; and see G. F. Moore as above; also the many foreign names among David's servants (they cannot all have been traders), and especially Uriah the Hittite and Ittai the Gittite.

[5] 1 Kings xiv. 27 f.; 2 Kings xi. 4-19. The Hebrew term was רָצִים *rāṣîm*, runners; on כָּרִי *kārî*, see below in the history under Joash. 2 Chron. xxv. 6 says that Amaziah of Judah hired out of N. Israel for 100 talents of silver, 100,000 *gibbôr ḥâîl*, E.V. *mighty men of valour*; but the use of *gibbôr* here confirms its technical meaning of hired soldier. The term, however, is used in a wider sense in 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

counts the *gibbôr* or mercenary soldier along with the *man of war* as one of the standing elements of the population.[1] In addition, Hezekiah hired a number of Arab mercenaries for the defence of the City against Sennacherib,[2] a measure which was probably adopted at other crises of her history. We have no data on the subject from the period when the High Priests bare rule in Jerusalem, but besides their unpaid levies the Maccabees employed mercenaries native and not foreign;[3] and the Hasmonean kings, especially Hyrcanus I. and Alexander Jannaeus, hired large numbers of foreign soldiers.[4] Herod's forces were recruited from many nations, among them even Thracians, Germans and Gauls, and he paid them liberally; not otherwise could he have carried out his many enterprises, garrisoned his fortresses, or kept himself secure when in Jerusalem.[5] Of all such enlistments a number, of course, had little to do with the City economically, yet the native rulers would always have a garrison there, and when in residence their own guards. These mercenaries were paid partly in rations, partly by distribution of the booty, and partly in money.[6] Till the entry of Vespasian's great army the Romans employed only auxiliary troops in Judæa; the garrison at Jerusalem in Paul's time consisted of one cohort of infantry, from 500 to 1000 men, with sometimes at least a similar detachment of cavalry, largely recruited from the region

[1] Isa. iii. 3 f.

[2] Sennacherib's Inscription on the *Taylor Cylinder*, col. iii. lines 31-33, or Schrader, *C.O.T.*, i. 286.

[3] 1 Macc. xiv. 32.

[4] Josephus, i. *B.J.* ii. 5; iv. 3, 5; v. 4.

[5] *Ibid.* xv. 6; xvi. 3; xviii. 3; xxxiii. 9.

[6] See especially i. *B.J.* xv. 6; xviii. 3.

of Sebaste or Samaria. Many of them had been taken over by the Romans from the forces of Herod and Archelaus.[1] It was doubtless to such soldiers that John the Baptist addressed the exhortation to be content with their rations.[2]

In all the periods we have surveyed, the Jerusalem garrison, paid no doubt mainly in rations, but also, as we have seen, by money, and by a share in the booty of victorious campaigns, must have added not inconsiderably to the spending and purchasing powers of the City.

The Court and Civil Officials.

Similarly in Jerusalem there was round the Kings of Judah, as round the later foreign governors, a large number of civil officials and servants, the description of which would carry us beyond our present task. To give an idea of their number it is enough to mention the high officials named in the ancient Court of Judah, *The Servant of the King*,[3] *the Scribe* or *Secretary*, the *Recorder* or *Remembrancer*, the *Chief of the Palace* or *Steward*,[4] all of them with their households resident in Jerusalem. To these must be added the other *sarîm* or *nobles*[5] who attended the court; several of lesser rank, the *mashḳeh* or *cupbearer*, the

[1] On the Roman garrisons of Judæa see Schürer in *Z.f.w.Th.* xviii. 413-425, and *Hist.*, div. i. vol. ii. 49-57.

[2] Luke iii. 14 : ὀψώνια.

[3] 2 Kings xxii. 12 ; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 34. This separate and perhaps highest office is confirmed by the discovery of several seals belonging to different holders of it in Judah and N. Israel ; for an exhaustive study of these by Kautzsch, see *M.u.N.D.P.V.*, 1904, 1-14, 81-83. It is possible that the *'ebhed ha-melekh* was only the chief eunuch, or that the title was applied to more than one office under the king.

[4] 2 Kings xviii. 18, 37 (=Isaiah xxxvi. 3, 22) ; Isaiah xxii. 15 ; 2 Kings xxii. 12.

[5] Jer. xxvi. 10 ; xxxvi. 12, 14.

keepers of the treasures and of the robes;[1] the *sêrisîm*, probably, but not certainly, eunuchs; and a crowd of minor officials, *soṭerîm* and *sopherîm*, *clerks* and *secretaries*, and so forth. Other names meet us under the Persian and Greek governments. The City, too, as Nehemiah tells us, had its own officials. Like the ancient kings, the Hasmonean kings and Herod must have had their servants in residence. The seat of the Roman procurator was in Cæsarea, but he came with his officials periodically to Jerusalem. Many of the *nobles* had their own country estates, the income of which they would draw to the capital. But below them were those large numbers of officials who, as much as the mercenary soldiers, had to be sustained by the state.

[1] 1 Kings x. 5; 2 Kings x. 22; 1 Chron. xxvii. 25 ff.

CHAPTER VII

THE TEMPLE REVENUES, PROPERTIES AND FINANCE

IN stating the general economic problems which arise in the course of the history of Jerusalem, we included that of the sustenance of the priesthood, their families and their servants, whether personal or attached to the service of the Temple. From the earliest times to the latest, careful provision, both in kind and in money, was made for all these classes. That very class which, after the national worship had been centralised by Deuteronomy, became the most numerous of the non-producing classes of the population of the City, was supported by the system which created it. The same laws which developed a large priesthood and host of followers provided that they should be fed by the tribute of the whole nation; and the more they increased in number, the more did the law enhance and secure their incomes. We may divide our consideration of the subject into the periods before the Exile, immediately after the Return, and during the last stages of the Temple history.

The Support of the Priesthood.

That during the period of the First Temple the king had the supreme direction of its arrangements and finance, and provided for its upkeep and embellishment, whether

from his own private resources or the people's tribute, is proved by many passages in the history. It was Solomon who built the Temple, just as actually as he built the Palace and other royal buildings. He gave the furniture, vessels and ornaments, many of which were of gold, and brought into the sacred treasuries the silver, the gold, and the vessels which David, his father, had dedicated.[1]

1. Pre-exilic Period—The Crown and the Temple Finances.

Partly depleted by the exactions of Shishak, King of Egypt, the Temple treasuries were refilled by Asa, and emptied again by the same king for tribute to the King of Aram:[2] fluctuations which, as we shall see, happened frequently in the course of the history. The king had as ready a command over the treasuries of the Temple as he had over those of the Palace, but when he drew upon them to meet emergencies, he seems as soon as possible to have filled them once more. At least there was always treasure in the Temple to meet fresh emergencies. In the reign of Joash we learn that the people paid moneys directly to the priests, consisting of an assessment on individuals, voluntary gifts, and quit-moneys.[3] Joash ordered that the first two of these classes of revenues should be devoted to the repairs, and directed the priests to see to this individually—each from his own *transactions*, or *takings*, or *possessions* (the meaning of the term is uncertain). Such a direction implies at least the beginnings of those individual and hereditary rights in the Temple revenues which we know to have existed in other sanctuaries of the time.[4]

[1] 1 Kings vi.-ix. [2] 1 Kings xv. 15-18.

[3] 2 Kings xii. 4 ff.; for details see below in the history, chapter on Joash.

[4] For Babylonia compare Johns, *Bab. and Assyr. Laws*, etc., 215.

But the story also illustrates the king's jurisdiction over the Temple finance, for with the consent of the priests Joash afterwards arranged that they should resign their interests in the two sources of income above mentioned, and these were administered by the king's secretary for the repair of the House of the Lord. Uzziah and Ahaz both asserted the royal supremacy over the service of the Temple; Joash and Ahaz the right of the king to draw, in emergency, on the Temple treasures.

Temple Lands.

At this time there is no notice of Temple estates. But we shall probably be right in assuming that the kings, who made grants of lands to individuals, did so in the case of the Temple as well, especially in payment or pledge for the sacred treasures which they appropriated to meet military or political emergencies. We know that in Babylonia from the earliest times, and in Assyria at dates contemporary with those of the kings of Judah, the Temples owned lands which they could cultivate or let, but not alienate.[1] There are examples of the same in the cases of other Semitic sanctuaries.[2] The Priestly Code speaks (as we shall see) of the consecration of houses and lands to the Lord, and this may well be held as implying the existence of the practice in times earlier than the date of that code. In the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem a number of *casales*, or villages with their lands, were assigned by the Crown, and gifted or bequeathed by individuals to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other religious corporations in Jerusalem;[3]

[1] Johns, *Bab. and Assyr. Laws*, etc., 209. For Egypt, cf. Gen. xlvii. 22.

[2] Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, Têma, 196, 198; cf. 40, 48, 241.

[3] Of these there are many instances in the collection of charters published by Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1893), with *Additamentum* (1904), *e.g.* Nos. 43, 52, 57, 58, etc. etc.

and under Mohammedan law, as we have seen, certain villages are *wakf*, to the Mosque of Omar; and *wakf* land, like the landed property of the ancient Babylonian Temples, is inalienable.[1]

The Temple as a Bank and Trade Centre.

In ancient times temples were used as places for the deposit of money, not only by kings but by private individuals as well. In Babylonia 'the temples did a certain amount of banking business,' and lent money on interest. They also advanced all kinds of raw material, derived from their tribute and rents, and did a considerable amount of trade.[2] And the like, as we shall see, was true of the Temple at Jerusalem in its later history. There is no evidence of the pre-exilic Temple having served as a bank for private depositors, unless we so interpret the fact that garments were left in pledge by the altar.[3] Even if we assume the practice as likely, we cannot prove that the priesthood derived revenues from such a source. But we can be sure that about the Temple, as about every other sanctuary of that early period, a considerable commerce tended to gather, of the profits of which the priesthood would have their share.[4]

The Priests' Portions in Kind.

It was universally recognised in antiquity that they who wait upon the altar shall have their portion with the altar. The daily food of the priests and their families was found in a share of the sacrifices made at their sanctuaries. In the earliest times the process of delivering these shares was rude and unsatisfactory. When an offerer had set apart the fatty portions of his animal for consumption on the altar,

[1] Above, p. 280. [2] Johns, *op. cit.* 211. [3] Amos ii. 8.
[4] See 'Trade and Commerce,' *Enc. Bibl.*, § 24.

and had put the rest to boil, that he and his friends might eat before their God, the priest's servant came with a flesh-hook of three teeth and stuck it into the caldron, taking for his master all that the hook brought up; and in Shiloh the sons of Eli were blamed because they sought to select their portion more definitely from the raw meat.[1] Yet this innovation, regarded then as sin, came to be the established law. No provision for priests is specified in the earliest laws;[2] but in the Deuteronomic Code the priest's portion, whether of sacrificed ox or sheep, is defined as *the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw.* In addition, the people are to give the priesthood the *rēshîth*, the *first* or *best*, usually translated *first-fruits*, of their corn, wine, oil, and fleece.[3] Deuteronomy separately provides for the *ma'ăsēr* or tithe of corn, wine, and oil. Two years out of three this is to be brought to the Temple along with the firstlings of the herd and flock, and eaten by the worshippers themselves before the Lord, the priest getting his portion of the animals as above. Or if the Israelite lives at a distance from Jerusalem he is to turn the tithes and the firstlings into money, carry this to the sanctuary, and buy for consumption by himself, his household, and domestic Levite whatsoever he pleases. The third year the tithe is to be stored within his own doors for the poor and the Levites.[4] The offerings named in Deuteronomy are the *zebaḥ*, the common name for any slaughtered and dedicated animal; the *'olah*, or *offering on*

According to Deuteronomy.

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 12-17.

[2] Exod. xxi. ff.

[3] Deut. xviii. 1-8, *rēshîth*, רֵאשִׁית or רִאשִׁית.

[4] Deut. xiv. 22-29; xii. 6; xxvi. 1-15; *tithe*, מַעֲשֵׂר; *firstling*, בְּכֹר. The exact relation of *tithe* and *rēshîth* is obscure.

the altar of the whole victim; the *terûmah of the hand*, or *contribution*; the *neder* or *vowed thing*; the *nĕdebah* or *free-will offering*; and the *shelem* (uncertain), all of which, except the *'olah*, were consumed by the offerers, less the portions laid on the altar and given to the priests.[1]

Priests' Receipts in Money.

In Deuteronomy no mention is made of money offerings to the priests—they may, however, be included under the voluntary contributions—nor of money dues either given in payment for the *torôth*, the priestly decisions, or for the Temple upkeep. We have seen, however, from the story of the king's administration of the finance, that the priests individually made moneys from the people's offerings and that their interest in one class of these, the quit-moneys, was recognised and continued to them. It is this method of personal income which the prophets of the eighth century declare to be full of abuses. Hosea says the priests *fed on the sin of the people*.[2] Micah blames them for teaching for hire;[3] and Jeremiah charges them with covetousness and fraud, calling the Temple, even after the Deuteronomic reforms, *a den of robbers*, the market of an unholy trade, from which doubtless the priests were the principal beneficiaries.[4]

Estates in Land.

From the earliest times the priests of Jerusalem had their family estates, and it was the priest Jeremiah's anxiety, even when he was in prison and though the country was derelict to the enemy, to exercise his right of pre-emption to his ancestral fields.[5]

[1] Deut. xii. 6, עֹלָה, זֶבַח, תְּרוּמָה, נֵדֶר, נְדָבָה; Deut. xxvii. 7, שְׁלָמִים.

[2] Hosea iv. 8; cf. the assignment of the *guilt* and *trespass* offerings (in kind) to the priests by the later law. Cf. Amos ii. 8; Isa. xxviii. 7; 1 Sam. ii. 27-36. [3] Mic. iii. 11. [4] Jer. vi. 13; xxiii. 11; vii. 11.

[5] 1 Kings ii. 26; Jer. xxxii. Cf. Amaziah, priest at Bethel, Amos vii. 17.

The pecuniary incomes, just described, must have enabled some priests to add to such estates. Probably no class in the community were more able to take advantage of the frequent mortgage of the peasants' lands.

The foreign rulers of Judah after the Exile made grants of material and money for the building, and occasionally for the furnishing, of the Temple.

2. Post-exilic, under Nehemiah.

Under Nehemiah the Jews imposed upon themselves the third part of a shekel yearly for the service of the House,—the furnishing of the shewbread, the continual offerings, the periodic feasts, the holy things, the sin-offerings—and for all the business of the House, and they agreed to supply by turns wood for the fires. To the priests they assigned annually *the first-fruits of our ground and all manner of trees*, the *first* or *best of our meal* or *dough*, *the firstlings of our herds and of our flocks*, *with the first-born of our sons*, redeemable, of course, by money. But to the Levites, now distinct from the priests, as they are not in Deuteronomy, fell the tithes of the ground, and a tithe of these tithes the Levites handed over to the priests. The contributions of corn, wine and oil were stored in the *lĕshakôth* or Temple-chambers. Officials were appointed to superintend the storage and distribution, and with Nehemiah's thoughtfulness for the poor, the singers and doorkeepers received their daily portion. Indeed, by order of the king himself, a *settled provision* was made for the singers.[1]

[1] Neh. x. 32-39 (*first fruits*, בִּכּוּרִים); settled provision for singers, xi. 23; portions for them and doorkeepers, xii. 47; officials over the chambers, xii. 44. For earlier royal gifts, cf. Ezra vi. 8-10.

Immense Extension by the Priestly Code.

In the Priestly Code we find the arrangements for the provision of the Temple and Priesthood, which were accepted under Nehemiah, codified along with many additions and modifications all tending to the further endowment of the priesthood, on a scale far beyond that fixed by Deuteronomy. To begin with, instead of the portions of the ordinary sacrifice assigned by the latter to the priests, these were to get the better *breast and right shoulder*,[1] and in addition the whole of some new offerings unknown to Deuteronomy, *the sin and trespass offerings*, with besides the *meal offering*.[2] But the law continues, still addressing the priest: *and this is thine, the contribution* or *oblation of their giving with all the wave-offerings of the children of Israel*, the *tĕnûphôth* or breasts of the beasts which were waved before the altar:[3] further, the *fat* or *best* of the oil, vintage and corn, the *first-ripe fruits* of all that was in the land;[4] further, anything that was *herem* or *devoted* to the Deity: all the first-born of men and animals.[5] As with Nehemiah, the tithe belongs to the Levites, who again give a tithe of it to the priests;[6] and, according to another and later section of the law, this tithe shall not be only of the ground as under Deuteronomy and in Nehemiah's time, but shall include the tithe of cattle.[7] The people also brought to the sanctuary a *contribution* from their *meal* or *dough* and their *threshing*-floor;[8] and

[1] Lev. vii. 30-34.

[2] Num. xviii. 9, 10; sin o. חַטָּאת; trespass o. אָשָׁם; meal o. מִנְחָה.

[3] Num. xviii. 11: תְּנוּפוֹת must be limited here to the breasts of the beasts. See G. B. Gray *in loco*.

[4] Verses 12, 13. It is possible that the one is distinct from the other.

[5] Verses 14-20.

[6] Verses 21-32.

[7] Lev. xxvii. 30-33; cf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 6.

[8] Num. xv. 20.

to the priest fell the *skins* or *fleeces* of the animals sacrificed.[1]

All this represents an increase in the dues to the priests to an amount which Professor Wellhausen is right in calling 'enormous. What originally were alternatives are thrown together ; what originally was left free and undetermined becomes precisely measured and prescribed.'[2] Nor did it all come in kind. The Priestly Code arranges for the redemption of the first-born of men at five shekels a head, and of unclean beasts at the value of each *plus* one-fifth :[3] similarly the tithe might be redeemed for a fifth over its value.[4] Moreover, in the skins or fleeces of the sacrificed beasts the priests had a negotiable asset that, especially upon the great festivals, must have risen to a huge amount. They would dispose of those, after satisfying their own domestic wants, to the tanners and weavers of the town, probably for money. The Priestly Code fixes the Temple tax for each Israelite, which we saw under Nehemiah to be a third of a shekel, at half a skekel.[5] Thus, after meeting the necessary repairs to the Temple fabric, and their own personal expenses, there must have been in possession of the priesthood under the Second Temple a considerable store of money and other negotiable metal both as common Temple property and in possession of individual priests. If even Jeremiah could buy land, as we have seen, one may assume that those in closer connection with the Temple than he was had their private fortunes, some modest, some, in the case of the principal

Revenues in money of the Temple and Priesthood.

[1] Lev. vii. 8.
[2] *Proleg. to the Hist. of Israel* (E.T.), 158.
[3] Num. xviii. 15, 16 ; Lev. xxvii. 27.
[4] Lev. xxvii. 31.
[5] Ex. xxx. 13-16 : a shekel=2s. 9d. (nearly).

priests after the Return, very considerable. Eliashib's dealings with Tobiah[1] were no doubt profitable to him, and later high-priests, by themselves or members of their families, mingled largely in the trade and finance both of the Temple and of the country as a whole. What opportunity they had may be realised from the particulars given above.[2] On the subject of the revenues from the Levitical cities, nothing can be said, as we do not know whether the system was ever put into practice. But it presupposes the possibility of the holding of estates in land by the priestly class, and justifies us still further in assuming that besides their family estates, the priesthood of the Second Temple held domains, like the priests of other ancient sanctuaries, for behoof of the general interests of the Temple. For this, indeed, there is distinct proof in the law which provides for the redemption of houses and lands consecrated by individuals to the Lord.[3]

Temple Estates.

The embodiment of all these codes and separate laws, dating from different stages of the development of the

[1] Neh. xiii. 4 ff.

[2] The above account is based on the generally accepted scheme of the date of the Deuteronomic Code as (in the main) complete in the seventh century before the Exile, and of the date of the Priestly Code in the Exile or after the Return. Nehemiah's data thus occupy an intermediate position. So do those of Ezekiel, which I have not included. The best authorities on the subject will be found by the English reader in Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the Hist. of Israel* (trans. by Black and Menzies), ch. v.; in Robertson Smith's *O.T. in the Jewish Church* (2nd edit.), Lectures xi.-xiii., with App. F, and *Relig. of the Semites*, esp. Lectures vi., vii., xi. ; in W. R. Harper's *The Priestly Element in the Old Testament*; in Driver's *Commentary on Deuteronomy* (esp. on chs. xii., xiv., and xviii.), and G. B. Gray's on *Numbers* (esp. on ch. xviii.), both in the *International Critical Commentary*; and in Ryle's *Ezra and Nehemiah* in the *Camb. Bible for Schools*. A useful summary will also be found in Schürer's *Hist. of the Jewish People*, div. ii. vol. i. 230-234 (trans. by Taylor and Christie).

[3] Lev. xxvii. 14 ff. In verse 28 lands are *herem*; cf. *C.I.S.* ii. 199, etc.

Israelite ritual, in one law-book, all parts of which were equally binding on the Jewish community from the fifth or fourth century onward, gave opportunity to the authorities of later Judaism, destitute as they were of the sense of historical discrimination, to augment and exaggerate the dues to Priesthood and Temple to an extraordinary pitch. The result, aggravated by the additions which successive interpretations of the law effected, was no small part of those burdens upon the national life in New Testament times, of which we hear complaints through the Gospels. Professor Schürer, in his *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, has given so admirable a summary of the Temple and priestly imposts of the period, with full reference to the authorities,[1] that it is not necessary to do more here than provide a general sketch of the various resources of the Priesthood and Temple, in so far as these supported the largest non-producing class of the population of Jerusalem, and added to the City's purchasing-power. It is well to note that for the Greek period we have two estimates of the number of the priesthood. Writing in this period, the author of the Pseudo-Aristeas describes seven hundred ministrants as at one service, besides a multitude of those who brought forward the victims.[2] The author of the work on the Jews, wrongly ascribed to Hecatæus of Abdera, but probably earlier than 200 B.C., for it is quoted by the Pseudo-

3. Provision for Temple and Priests in New Testament Times.

Number of Priests in the Greek Period.

[1] Eng. transl., div. ii. vol. i. 234-254. The chief authorities on the subject are Josephus, iii. *Ant.* ix. 1-4; iv. *Ant.* iv. 4; viii. 22; Philo, *De Praemiis Sacerdotum et Honoribus*, and several treatises in Talmud and Mishna. The latter I have consulted in the ed. of Surenhusius, 1703.

[2] Edition by Thackeray in Swete's *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, 536.

Aristeas, says, 'All the Jewish priests who are in receipt of the tithe of the produce [of the soil] and administer the public moneys [or affairs] are at the most fifteen hundred.'[1] This does not seem to include the Temple servants. Philo does not venture on numbers, but enables us to infer how large they must have been from his emphasis upon the innumerable multitude of sacrifices, private and public, which were offered both every day, and especially at the national assemblies and feasts.[2] Josephus states that there were four tribes of priests, each more than five thousand in number, but he may mean to include the Levites and servants.[3] So numerous were the priesthood, that they were divided throughout this period into twenty-four courses.[4] These data do not assist us to a definite idea of the number. The most probable figure appears to be the fifteen hundred of the Pseudo-Hecatæus, but if correct for the third century before Christ, we should need to increase it considerably for the Herodian period; and if we add the Levites, singers, gatekeepers and servants, we must estimate the non-producing classes attached to the Temple at many thousands.

As to the nourishment of these—the priests alone could eat the flesh of the sin and guilt offerings, the meal-offerings and the supplies of the shewbread, but they could share with their families and servants the breasts and right shoulders of the thank-offerings, the flesh of the male firstlings of the cattle,

The Priests' Receipts in kind.

[1] Quoted from 'Hecatæus' by Josephus, *C. Apion.* i. 22; cf. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Rom. relatifs au Judaïsme*, 229.

[2] Philo, *Vita Mosis*, iii. 19.

[3] *C. Apion.* ii. 8; Schürer (219 f.) suggests this is a corruption of the usual *twenty-four*, but Josephus with all his love for great numbers would hardly have ventured on twenty-four times 5000. Ezra ii. 36 ff. gives 4289.

[4] 1 Chron. xxiv. 7-18; *Talm. Jerus.*, 'Ta'anith,' iv.68.

and of every beast slaughtered extra-officially the maw, two cheeks and shoulder (for to this class of butcher-meat tradition transferred the Deuteronomic directions as to sacrificial victims), all cattle specially devoted as *herem* to the sanctuary, and perhaps the tithe of the increase of cattle as well.[1] Of the produce of the soil they had besides the shewbread and their portion of the meal-offerings, the first-fruits of 'the seven kinds,'—these are wheat, barley, olives, vines, figs, pomegranates and honey;[2] the *terûmah* or *contribution* of these and other fruits from one-fortieth to one-sixtieth of the whole crop;[3] and, when these had been deducted, the tithe of the rest of the crop for the Levites, who (as above) had to hand on a tithe of what they received to the priest;[4] and a portion of the dough, one twenty-fourth from private individuals and half as much from public bakers.[5] Besides these supplies in food, the priests received the skins of the *'olah* and other victims,[6] and a proportion of the produce of the annual sheep-shearing. Josephus says that some priests, contemporaries of his, had 'gotten great riches from these tithes, which were their dues.'[7]

In money the priests enjoyed revenues from the payments already described under the law for the redemption of the male firstlings of man, and the animals which could not be eaten—ass, horse, and camel; and, according to Josephus, the quit-money

Receipts in money.

[1] *Mishna*, 'Zebaḥim,' v. 7 f.; 'Ḥullin,' x. 1; 'Ḥalla,' iv. 9.
[2] 'Bikkurim,' i. 3; Deut. viii. 8. [3] 'Terumoth,' iv. 3.
[4] 'Ma'aseroth'; the *second tithe* was then taken off the crops on the basis of Deut. xiv. 22-26, but that, in accordance with this passage, was consumed by the worshippers 'Ma'aser sheni.
[5] 'Ḥalla,' ii. 7; *Tosephta*, 'Ḥalla,' i.
[6] Jos. iii. *Ant.* ix. 1; 'Ḥullin,' xi. 1 f.; 'Zebaḥim,' iv. 41, xii. 3; 'Sheḳalim,' vi. 6. [7] *Life*, 12.

as well as of persons who had been vowed to the sanctuary,[1] fifty shekels for a man and thirty for a woman; with various indemnities and fines. When the loyal Jew, who was anxious to fulfil all his debts to the sanctuary, lived at a distance from Jerusalem, he either paid them in kind to a resident priest, or, doubtless following the precedent set in Deuteronomy, sent their equivalent in money to the Holy City.

General Temple Revenues.

The mainstay of the support of the Temple service continued to be the tax of half a shekel imposed on every male adult by the Priestly Code.[2] This was not only paid by the resident Jews in Palestine, but regularly gathered from those of the most distant Diaspora, and forwarded as convenient to Jerusalem.[3] Profits on things vowed went to the Temple treasury.[4] Voluntary gifts of money were also deposited in boxes in the Temple courts,[5] or sent from abroad; and there were frequent donations, by Gentiles as well as Jews, of gold, silver and other precious materials,[6] which were devoted to the embellishment of the holy fabric as well as to the support of the ritual. As in Nehemiah's time, the wood for the altar was furnished by certain families in rotation.[7]

According to the Mishna, when any one consecrated his properties to religion, after the portion fit for sacrifice

[1] iv. *Ant.* iv. 4.

[2] Matt. xvii. 24. In the Greek it is called τὸ δίδραχμον, or double drachma, of the coinage valid in Syria under the Romans. The half-shekel was almost equivalent to this. See above, p. 359 *n.* 5.

[3] On Babylonia, Josephus xviii. *Ant.* ix. 1; on Egypt, Philo, *De Monarch.* ii. 3; cf. *Mishna*, 'Shekalim,' ii.

[4] *Ibid.* iv. 6-8.

[5] Mark xii. 41 ff.; Luke xxi. 1 ff.

[6] Jos. xiii. *Ant.* iii. 4; v. *B.J.* v. 3; xiii. 6; 'Middoth,' iii. 8; 'Yoma,' iii. 10.

[7] *Mishna*, 'Ta'anith,' iv. 5.

was sold to worshippers and the money put into the treasury, the rest was to go to the treasury, also for the support of the Temple.[1] The language is vague, but 'the rest' may be held to include those lands and houses which, as we have seen, it had been the custom from early times to devote to the Lord.[2] In all probability these gifts of land increased greatly during the last periods of the Temple's history. When Hecatæus of Abdera, in the beginning of the third century, says[3] it was forbidden to the Jewish priests to sell their lots of land, he probably refers to the Temple estates.

Temple Lands.

Finally, from this latest period we have ample evidence of the Temple as a place of safe deposit for money, not only by the rulers of the people but by private individuals. Josephus says that on the destruction of the City by Titus there was in the Temple treasuries 'an immense quantity of money, garments, and other precious goods there deposited; . . . there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were accumulated, while the wealthy had there built chambers for themselves.'[4] A much earlier writer records a report that in the Greek period 'the treasury in Jerusalem was full of untold sums of money, so that the multitude of the funds was innumerable, and that they did not pertain to the account of the sacrifices'; which report the high priest qualified by explaining 'that there were deposits of widows and orphans, and moreover something belonging to Hyrcanus, son of Tobias . . . and that, in all, there

The Temple as Bank.

[1] 'Shekalim,' iv. 7 f.

[2] Above, p. 360; see also 'Arakin,' viii. 1, 4, and other passages of the *Mishna*.

[3] Quoted by Diod. Siculus; Müller, *Fragmenta Histor. Graec.* ii. 391.

[4] vi. *B.J.* v. 2; cf. i. *B.J.* xiii. 9.

were four hundred talents of silver and two hundred of gold.'[1] As we have seen, the Babylonian Temples lent money, grain and other goods. Burckhardt says that loans are sometimes required of the convents in Kesrouan, but these are regularly reimbursed in the time of the next harvest.[2]

Greatness of the Temple Finance and Trade.

From all this we see not only how large in these later times the revenues of the priesthood and Temple had become, but what a busy centre the latter was both of trade and finance. Among the chief priests there were many with large fortunes. The High Priest and his counsellors were trustees and accountants on a large scale—the more so that there was, except for a part of the period, no separate civil authority. But they were also great traders. To assist them in the reception, investment and distribution of the funds, they had a great staff of officials, duly organised and entitled.[3] But indeed in those days nearly every priest must have been a trader.

[1] 2 Maccab. iii. 6, 10 f.

[2] *Travels in Syria*, etc., 188.

[3] The best account of these in the Roman period is by Schürer (Eng. trans.), div. ii. vol. i. 260 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

TRADES, CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES

OUTSIDE the royal and priestly classes, with their hosts of dependants, whose purchasing-power we have appreciated in the preceding chapters, lay the bulk of the citizens. The residence in Jerusalem of numbers of the landed *sarim* or nobles has already been noted. The attraction of the wealthier landowners to the court and capital began from the earliest days of the kingdom,[1] and was not always resisted as Barzillai and that lady of Shunem, who preferred to dwell among her own people, resisted it. As the old tribal system gave way, and still more when the great changes in the rural economy took place in the eighth century, and foreign invasions swept the country, the capital drew to herself more and more of the energy, the talent and the wealth of the nation.[2] The land even passed out of the hands of the older families into those of merchants, usurers and rulers, whose official position gave them opportunities to acquire estates mortgaged by their owners to pay the heavy taxes,[3] and the natural centre of all those classes was the capital. Such economic pro-

Concentration of the national wealth and energy.

[1] Mephibosheth and David, 2 Sam. ix.; Barzillai, Chimham, and David, 2 Sam. xix. 31-39; *I dwell among mine own people*, 2 Kings iv. 13.

[2] See above, p. 281, and below, Bk. III. ch. ii.

[3] Neh. v.

cesses must have repeated themselves at different periods of prosperity and adversity after the Return from Exile. Others with the same results sprang from the opportunities of finance offered to the Jews under the fiscal administration of their foreign rulers. The story of how Joseph of Jerusalem amassed riches by farming the taxes of Ptolemy IV. or V.[1] (between 221 and 184 B.C.), affords the first instance of what afterwards became so notorious a profession in the nation, gaining for individual Jews at once a large fortune and the deep hatred of their fellows.[2] Though these farmers of the customs resided during office on the borders of the province of Judæa, like Zacchæus at Jericho,[3] they would naturally gravitate with their gains to the capital. Thus there was at all times in Jerusalem a class of well-to-do and even wealthy persons drawing much money towards the City.

Financiers and Publicans.

We turn now to the commercial and industrial classes of the population.

We have already seen what was the probable formation of the earliest *Sûk* or bazaar in the primitive Jerusalem: the settlement of a smith, a butter and salt dealer, a potter, all of them foreigners and confined to the supply of what the townsmen could not produce by their domestic industries.[4] Jerusalem lies aloof from the great trade-routes of the land, and whatever further commercial activity she

The Beginnings of the Bazaar.

[1] Jos. xii. *Ant.* iv.; cf. Büchler, *Die Tobiaden*, etc., 43 ff., 91 ff.

[2] As in the Gospels, so in the *Talmud* and *Mishna*, e.g. 'B. Kama,' 94*a*: 'tax-gathers whose repentance is difficult.' 'Demai' 23*a*, 'an associate' (of the company of scholars or scribes) 'who becomes a tax-gatherer, shall be expelled.' Cf. *Mishna*, 'Baba Ḳama,' x. 2; 'Nedarim,' iii. 4.

[3] See above, p. 341

[4] See above, p. 312.

developed must have arisen in spite of the natural disadvantages of her site, and in consequence of her political rank and the mercantile and financial measures of her kings. A new capital is no sooner formed in an Oriental state than its lord invites or compels a number of foreign traders to settle about him. If his people be still mainly agricultural and unversed in the crafts, it is, as we shall see, builders and architects, dealers in gold ornaments and the like, whom he will chiefly select; as also traders in those foods and animals which his people do not produce, but which they have come to require, owing to their growing numbers and increased military ambition.[1] There can be no doubt that David adopted this policy, that Solomon extended it—witness his dealings with horse-traders—and that they were imitated by their successors in Judah. That these traders were chiefly Phœnician is both probable in itself, and confirmed by the fact that the earlier Hebrew for *dealer* is *Canaanite*. But the Hebrews soon learned their business and rivalled their ability. Amos—perhaps himself a wool-seller, as well as a shepherd[2]—appears to describe the chief merchandise of his own countrymen as wheat;[3] but Hosea calls Northern Israel a very *Canaan*, as if expert in every form of trade.[4] The merchants of the City mentioned by Zephaniah[5] may be either Phœnician or Jewish; but her bazaars, through which Jeremiah seeks in vain for

Royal Patronage of Trade.

Foreign and Native Traders.

[1] In illustration, take the case of Hayil in Arabia, cited below.

[2] *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 79.

[3] Amos viii. 5 f.

[4] Hosea xii. 7.

[5] Zephaniah i. 11: *people of Canaan*, he calls them, but the name may have here its professional and not its ethnic meaning.

an honest man, are certainly those of Jewish traders, who falsely guarantee their goods with the oath, *As Jahweh liveth*.[1] The business in which all those engaged comprised both commodities consumed by the citizens themselves, and that transference of wheat and other goods to the Phœnicians which is mentioned by Ezekiel.[2] After the institution of the Deuteronomic festivals, the trade of Jerusalem was three times a year enormously enhanced. For Deuteronomy provides that pilgrims from a distance shall not bring their own stock with them, but turning it into money shall take this to Jerusalem and purchase there the material of the required sacrifices.[3] As we have seen, this material was largely sold to the pilgrims by the priests themselves, but there must have been many other traders, especially in salt, incense and such goods as the priests could not provide. On their return from exile the Jews could not at once have resumed their commerce, and the transit trade had altogether ceased. Nehemiah describes Tyrians as settled in the City and selling not only fish, but all manner of wares. Joel describes Jerusalem as a thoroughfare of strangers, and a still later prophet, writing in the beginning of the Greek period, implies that even the sanctuary contains them.[4] With the right of citizenship granted in Antioch and Alexandria to the Jews, very many of whom were traders, and with the growth of the crowds of pilgrims from the Greek world to Jerusalem, the number of Jewish traders having agents and correspondents of their own faith abroad must have increased through

[1] Jeremiah v. 1 ff. [2] xxvii. 17. See above, p. 316.
[3] Deuteronomy, xiv. 24 ff.; cf. above, p. 354 f.
[4] Nehemiah xiii. 16; Joel iii. 17 [Eng.] 'Zech.' xiv. 21.

the Greek period. Jesus ben-Sira finds it necessary to make many warnings against covetousness and fraud in trade.[1] By the Christian era the prevalence in Hebrew of Greek, and to a less extent of Latin, names for the objects and means of trade is very striking.[2] But it would be a mistake to conclude from this that all the trade with which the Jews had to do was in the hands of Greeks or Hellenised Syrians. Even in the Greek period the Jews had risen to great influence in Antioch, Alexandria and Cyrene;[3] while those of Asia Minor deposited in Cos 800 talents, or about £192,000.[4] Herod drew largely on the resources of his fellow-believers of the Diaspora, and Josephus gives an interesting account of the trade, finance and wealth of the Babylonian Jews.[5] All these results can hardly have been achieved without a considerable participation by the people in the trade of the time. Perhaps our Lord had this in view when He spoke of the Galilee of His time as a place in which a man could gain the whole world but lose his own soul. Still there were many obstacles against trade becoming characteristic of the Jewish people as a whole: as the strictures of the law, and especially the precepts relating to the Sabbath and things clean and unclean. Those against writing and carrying and putting a value on anything on the Sabbath must have made trade on that day impossible except

[1] Ecclesiasticus xxvi. 29 ff.; xxxvii. 11; viii. 13; xxix. 4 ff.; xli. 18; xlii. 3 f.; cf. Wisdom xv. 12.

[2] *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Trade and Commerce,' § 77. The fullest list of Greek terms will be found in Schürer, div. ii. vol. i. 33 f., 36 ff.

[3] Strabo, quoted by Jos. xiv. *Ant.* vii. 2.

[4] See Reinach, note 2, p. 91 of *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme.*

[5] xviii. *Ant.* ix.; xx. *Ant.* ii. 3.

by desperate subterfuges, while the laws against unclean things operated still more widely. Moreover, the bulk of the brains of the nation were absorbed in other directions. To Greek observers of the time, the Jews are a nation given to sacred things and the service of their Deity; and Strabo, when recording the different peoples of Syria and their characteristics, speaks only of the Phœnicians as merchants.[1]

Parallel with the development of trade at Jerusalem was that in industrial and manufacturing pursuits. There never was a city which by its position was more unfitted than Jerusalem was to be the home of industries. About her lie none of the materials of manufacture nor any of the aids to it. Stone, hides and wool abound, but neither metals, clay, pigments, nor, in any quantity, timber. Nor are the roads suitable for wheeled vehicles. Here again the acute observer whom we have already quoted may be taken as summarising what must impress every intelligent visitor. Martin Kabátnik, writing in 1491-92, says: 'Jews and Christians have a poor subsistence, for there are few artisans at Jerusalem, and that because it does not lie on the high-road. For this reason industrial enterprise is hard for the people.'[2] Throughout her long and varied history, the name of Jerusalem has never been linked with any product of man's hands or original invention. When the Greeks first met with the Jews, this want of mechanic and artistic ability struck them in a nation from that ingenious East out of which they had derived so many arts and inventions. Apollonius of Rhodes, a teacher of Cicero,

Natural Unfitness of Jerusalem for Industries.

[1] *Geogr.* xvi. 2.

[2] *Z.D.P.V.* xxi. 58.

declared 'that the Jews are the most inept of the Barbarians, and the only ones who have not contributed any invention useful to life.'[1] The apparent testimony to the contrary by the Pseudo-Aristeas that Jerusalem was a 'city of many crafts,'[2] does not refer to the technical originality of the citizens; and the writer, who is an obvious Jew, would in any case naturally exaggerate the abilities of his city.

David and Solomon, like other Oriental masters of new kingdoms, brought to their capital various skilful artisans from abroad: stone, wood and metal workers, weavers and dyers.[3] Some of these would settle permanently in the City and bequeath to their children the practice of their crafts. Native families of artisans on the same lines would spring up: masons, carpenters, blacksmiths and coppersmiths, all of whom with ruder capacities had been there from the first; potters, though one theory of the stamps upon old jar-handles implies that the best potteries were elsewhere;[4] goldsmiths and silversmiths. Gradually, too, the various industries which in an agricultural society had been discharged within each household would severally become the business of specialists —such as weaving, tanning, fulling, and even baking.

Crafts actually mentioned.

[1] Quoted by Josephus, *Contr. Apion.* ii. 15; cf. Celsus in *Origen. Contr. Cels.* iv. 31.

[2] Πολύτεχνος. Thackeray's edition in Swete's *Introduction to Old Testament in Greek*, 539.

[3] According to 2 Chron. ii. 14, Huram-abi was skilful to work *in purple, in blue, in fine linen, and in crimson*, as well as in stone, wood and metals; cf. iv. 16.

[4] Bliss and Macalister, *Excavat. in Palestine*, 1898-1900, 108 ff. But Macalister (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, 243 f.; 328 ff. 'The Craftsmen's Guild of the Tribe of Judah'; cf. *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*) takes the names as those of the potters, not of places.

Spinning was still done on the domestic distaff, but from an early time the phrase the *weaver's shuttle* seems to indicate the special workman. In Jeremiah's day there was a *Bakers' street*, to the ovens of which, as in New Testament times and to-day,[1] the women would send the dough kneaded in the household, and the *House of the Potter*.[2] Doubtless the gold- and silver-smiths, who were also image-makers, the weavers, dyers, all of whom Jeremiah mentions,[3] and the workers in stone, wood and metal, whom Nebuchadrezzar carried away, had each their own bazaar in the City. Harness and trappings were largely imported from Arabia,[4] where in El Jôf they are still a staple manufacture; but there must have been harness-makers, as there were shoemakers, in Israel.[5] The lowest of all classes, as is well known, were *the hewers of wood and drawers of water*: both of them very necessary elements in the life of Jerusalem. But the good artificer is not despised in the Old Testament: on the contrary, his gifts are regarded equally with those of the husbandman as from God.

The Crafts in the Greek Period.

In the Greek period the industries of Jerusalem continued to be similar to those given above. The smith, the potter, the moulder of copper, the gold- and the silver-smith, and the engraver, are all mentioned.[6]

> 'Without these shall not a city be inhabited,
> And men shall not sojourn nor walk up and down;
> They will maintain the fabric of the world,
> And in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer.'[7]

---

[1] *Mishna*, 'Ḥallah,' i. 7; Baldensperger, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, 75.
[2] Jeremiah xviii. 2. [3] vi. 29; x. 9, 14; xxiv. 1. [4] Ezek. xxvii. 20.
[5] Amos ii. 6. [6] Wisdom xv. 7, 9; Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 27-30.
[7] Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 32, 34.

But the son of Sira, who speaks thus, adds that the craftsmen 'put their trust in their hands, and each becometh wise [only] in his own work; they shall not be sought for in the council of the people, and in the assembly they shall not rise on high.' They are far beneath the Scribe, whose 'wisdom cometh by opportunity of leisure.' Only 'he that hath little business shall become wise.'[1] A different spirit was manifested by later Rabbis. Rabban Gamaliel III. urged on the scribes engagement in some business besides the study of the Law, 'for exertion in both keeps from sin.'[2] Paul sustained himself by tent-weaving. The industries of Jerusalem must have remained during the Roman period the same as formerly. They were still incorporated in guilds, of whom the weavers and wool-workers had a 'bad reputation.'[3] Yet the chief industry of Judæa was the manufacture of woollen goods, while that of Galilee was of linen.[4] It is singular that in all the parables of our Lord, which contain many references to trading, there is none to a handicraft, though He was Himself the *son of a carpenter*.

No Miller.

The Western eye will be struck by the absence from this list of traders and craftsmen of the Miller, who in the history of Europe is one of the earliest specialists in industry. Nor is there any name for him in Biblical Hebrew, which yields us only *mill-maids*.[5] The work was done in each home by the women. *The sound of the millstones*—the peaceful

[1] Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. verses 31, 33, 24. [2] 'Aboth,' ii. 2.

[3] See Delitzsch, *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben*.

[4] *Mishna*, 'Baba Kamma,' x. 9.

[5] The feminine participle טוֹחֲנוֹת, Eccl. xii. 3; cf. Isaiah xlvii. 2; Exodus xi. 5, and (perhaps) Job xxxi. 10; cf. Matthew xxiv. 41.

drone and humming which still reaches the traveller's ears out of the doorways of the people—was as much domestic music in the days of Jeremiah as *the voice of the bridegroom, the voice of the bride, and the light of the candle.*[1] It is uncertain when the Miller first appeared in Palestine: that is when running water or a horse or ass was first used to turn the stones, and it became possible to employ very large ones. This was certainly before the Christian era, for the name miller appears in post-biblical Hebrew, and the Gospels use the phrase *ass-millstone.*[2] To-day water-mills are found only on the streams of the maritime plain, of Esdraelon and of Eastern Palestine. At the great waterfall of Tell-esh-Shihâb there are enough for the whole Ḥauran, and there I found a miller at the head of the community.[3] But in Jerusalem there is no running water, and in the place-names of the neighbourhood no memory of mills till you come to the Wâdy of Mills below Artas, along which ancient aqueducts run from the Pools of Solomon.[4] There are now in Jerusalem some ass- and horse-mills;[5] but down to the recent introduction of steam, the drone of the domestic quern continued to be almost as characteristic of the City's life as it was in the days of Jeremiah.

[1] Jeremiah xxv. 10.

[2] Miller in N.H., טַחוֹנָא, *ṭaḥônā.* Ass-Millstone, *μύλος ὀνικός*, Matthew xviii. 6; Mark ix. 42.

[3] In Moab, on the Wâdy Waleh and elsewhere, I learned that the miller receives one-twelfth of the grain he grinds.

[4] W. eṭ Ṭawāḥîn. The only other name of the kind I ever heard about Jerusalem is the Ras eṭ-Ṭāḥûne, a hill covered with olives north-west from el-Bireh, which appears to owe its name rather to some rocky formation.

[5] Baldensperger, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, 76.

CHAPTER IX

GOVERNMENT AND POLICE

1. Before the Exile

JERUSALEM was the creation of a king, and kings of his dynasty *reigned in Jerusalem*—the formal phrase of their annalists—for over four hundred years. They built her walls and towers, her Temple and other public buildings; her conduits and reservoirs. They brought to her traders and artisans; they directed her imports and endowed her with treasures. Therefore it is not surprising that till the time of the Exile we hear of no civic assembly or constitution in Jerusalem, nor of any government of the town except by the monarch's own, and generally direct, administration. In the City's history there was no room for that gradual transition from the tribal to the royal authority, which took place in other towns of Israel. For Jerusalem had not been occupied by an Israelite tribe before David took her by force of arms, and gave her citadel his own name. While the elders of other cities or of the nation or of the land as a whole are frequently mentioned,[1] pre-exilic documents speak of *Elders* in Jerusalem only four or five times, and then but once are

Pre-exilic Jerusalem: a Royal Administration.

[1] *e.g.* Judges viii. 14; 1 Sam. xxx. 26; 2 Sam. xvii. 4; xix. 11; 1 Kings xx. 8; xxi. 8; 2 Kings vi. 32; Deut. xix. 12; xxi. 2 ff. etc. etc.

they called by the name of the City.[1] No doubt there were elders of the capital as of other towns, with their functions among the minor matters of justice, but their influence was overborne by the presence of the Crown and Court. In lists of authorities in which we should expect them to appear, they are not present. Even the Chronicler, who imputes so many of the institutions of his time to the pre-exilic period, speaks not of Elders of Jerusalem under the monarchy, but always of those of *Israel*, *Judah* or *the land*. In arraigning the wickedness of the City, Isaiah singles out her *rulers*, *princes*, *judges* and *counsellors*;[2] and the authorities in Jeremiah's time were the *princes of Judah*,[3] or rather the *officers*, for, though they may have included the king's sons, Jeremiah identifies them with the high state officials. Of notable families, these held their posts from the king, were part of his court, *his servants*,[4] and gave decisions in cases of law—for instance, in the case in which Jeremiah was defendant and the priests and prophets prosecutors. Isaiah's *rulers*, *judges* and *counsellors* were doubtless of the same class. It is singular that among them pre-exilic documents never mention a governor of the City—not even in lists of high officials and on occasions on which we might expect to find such an officer had he existed.[5]

[1] Isa. iii. 2, *elder* as a constituent of the strength of the state; 14, *elders of his people*; Jer. xix. 1, *of the people*; xxvi. 17, *of the land* (but here only as witnesses); 2 Kings xxiii. 1, *elders of Judah and Jerusalem* (but the date of this verse is uncertain: it is not clear that it belongs to the annals of Judah). Neither in 2 Sam. xii. 17, *elders of his household*, *i.e.* David's, nor in 1 Kings xii. 6, the elders *which had stood before Solomon*, are the elders of the City meant.

[2] יֹעֲצִים, שֹׁפְטִים, שָׂרִים, קְצִינִים, Isa. i. 10, 23, 26; xxii. 3.

[3] Jer. xxvi. 10 ff., 16; xxxvi. 12, 14, 19.

[4] Jer. xxxvi. 24.

[5] 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff.; 2 Kings xi.; xviii. 18 ff.; xxiii. 1 f.; xxiv. 14 ff.; xxv. 18, 19; nor in 1 Chron. xviii. 14 ff. (David's officers); 2 Chron. viii. 9 (Solomon's officers); 2 Chron. xix. 8 ff. (under Jehoshaphat).

Once, however, the Chronicler gives the title *Sār ha'Ir, Prince*, or *Officer, of the City*, to Maaseiah under Josiah,[1] in a passage which we shall find reasons for considering reliable. But if the title be not an anachronism, the office was held like those of the other *Sārîm* from the king, just as was the case in the other Israelite capital of Samaria.[2] Yet it is strange that we do not find any holder of it upon one or other of the lists or occasions already referred to. Thus the government of the City under the monarchy was royal, and for the most part directly so. The fact is confirmed by the absence of all mention of watchmen other than the one in the king's house;[3] or of police, or executioners, other than the royal guard, the mercenaries of the palace.[4] As we see from the story of Jeremiah, the prisons were within the courts of the palace,[5] though the priests also had penal powers. Between the royal administration, then, and those whom the documents of the time call the *men*, or *inhabitants of Jerusalem*, there was no other governing body. When opposition to a reigning monarch arose, it was either from his own *servants* or courtiers, or from the priests with the garrison on their side, or from the whole body of the people. Unlike other towns, whose *elders* enjoyed a certain independence of the Crown, pre-exilic Jerusalem had no constituted authority from among her own citizens.[6]

[1] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8. [2] 1 Kings xxii. 26.

[3] 2 Sam. xiii. 34; cf. xviii. 24; 2 Kings ix. 17.

[4] 2 Kings xi. Similarly in N. Israel, x. 25.

[5] Palace: Jer. xxxii. 2; xxxvii. 15, 21; xxxviii. 6, 13; Temple: xx. 1 ff.; xxix. 26.

[6] This opinion would have to be modified if it could be proved that the Chronicler in 2 Chron. xix. 8-11 were drawing his details from a genuine pre-exilic source. That, however, is doubtful. Of the supreme court which Jehoshaphat is here said to have set up in Jerusalem, consisting of Levites,

2. After the Return, 536-444 B.C.

Very different Constitution after the Exile.

A very different state of affairs meets us in Jerusalem after the Exile. In the first place, those who returned from Babylonia—the *Gôlah* or *Bnê ha-Golah*, as they called themselves, *The Captivity* or *Sons of the Captivity*—came back not to a kingdom but to a *mĕdînah* or *district* (and city) of the Persian Empire: to what so far as they themselves were concerned was but a colony (though on their fathers' lands) of the Jewish nation, the material bulk of which, as well as its spiritual authority, still resided in Babylonia. The hopes which prophecy revived among them[1] of a crowned head for themselves, a prince of the house of David, were dissipated by the death or fall of Zerubbabel, and the Persian kings gave them no more governors from their own royal house. Secondly, the returned Exiles were organised by their families. That is to say, the old tribal organisation of the people, modified by the principle of locality or neighbourhood, was anew defined;[2] and elders and heads of households, who had been the only instruments possible for the administration of the Law in Exile,[3] returned to Palestine invested with habits of authority which had already been restored to them for two generations. But, thirdly, if the Jews who settled in Jerusalem and her

priests and heads of houses, there is no word in the Book of Kings; and the whole language is the Chronicler's own (Wellh., *Hist.*, E.T. 191). Even the name Zebadiah, given to the prince of the house of Judah who presided over this court on its civil side, is one which occurs only in Chronicles and other post-exilic writings. See further, below, pp. 387 f.

[1] See below under Zechariah, p. 381. [2] Neh. vii. 6 f. = Ezr. ii. 1 f.

[3] Ezekiel viii. 1; xiv. 1; xx. 1. Elsewhere it is *the house of Israel* that he addresses, iii. 1, etc.; iv. 3; xvii. 1; xx. 27; xxxvi. 17; or *the children of thy people*, xxxiii. 1.

neighbourhood after the Exile were thus a democratic colony—democratic, that is, in a patriarchal sense—they were governed, as the people had not been governed even under the Deuteronomic régime, by their religious authorities.[1] Their hopes of a king were shattered, but their priesthood remained; and to the High Priest they transferred at a very early date the crown which the prophet Zechariah had at first designed for the monarch. They built a Temple in Jerusalem, but no palace; and the Temple had its courts fortified upon the most defensible hill in Jerusalem long before the City walls were rebuilt. At first the High Priest may have exerted little authority. But the law which the people accepted under Ezra and Nehemiah gave him the highest rank in the community; and in the absence of a prince of the people, the subsequent holders of the office, aided by the large priesthood under them, soon realised their legal rights. In the Greek period the High Priest was the civil as well as the religious governor of Jerusalem. The following are the details of the process.

Haggai, Zechariah, and 'Malachi.'

The forces to which Haggai appeals are Zerubbabel the prince, Jehoshua' the priest, and the *rest of the people*.[2] To Zechariah God and the City are the two units of religion (520-518 B.C.).[3] Virtue, symbolised by the chief product of the district, flows from Him to her through *two olive branches*, *two sons of oil*, the prince and the priest. The prince has the precedence and the crown. The priest is at his right hand: if he is worthy he shall judge God's house and keep His

[1] Ezekiel xliv. 23 f. had already directed that the priests should judge, not only in ceremonial, but in civil cases.

[2] Hag. i. 12, 14; ii. 2.

[3] Zech. i. 16 f. (*I am returned to Jerusalem*); ii. 1-13; iii. 2; viii. 2 (*I am jealous for Ṣion*), 3 f.

Courts.[1] When Zerubbabel failed, Zechariah himself, or a later hand, changed this, and gave the priest the crown. Even before this the priest had a number of colleagues, *men of omen*, who *sit before him*.[2] But according to 'Malachi' some sixty years later, the priests are unworthy; the discipline of the sacrifices and the Temple is decayed. 'Malachi' complains of priests and worshippers, but of no rulers or judges.[3]

3. Under Nehemiah, 444-432 B.C.

When Nehemiah came to Jerusalem he found the same unworthiness among the priests, and even in the High Priest, who seems to have had no good influence on the government of the City.[4] Nehemiah himself was invested with the powers of *Peḥah* or governor of the *Mĕdînah*, under the Satrap of the trans-Euphrates Province of the Empire. The local authorities in Jerusalem he calls *Sĕgānim*: *rulers*, *magistrates* or *deputies*.[5] These are clearly Jews, for they are reckoned in the genealogies of Israel, and charged with trespass in marrying foreign wives.[6] With them were associated—or perhaps the terms were convertible—what

Civil Administration under Nehemiah.

[1] Precedence of the prince, iv. 6 ff.; vi. 9-15 (the original text of which assigns the crown to Zerubbabel). The office of the priest, iii. 1-7 (not attained without controversy); vi. 13 (LXX., at right hand of prince). See *Book of the Twelve*, ii. 309.

[2] Zech. iii. 8.

[3] 'Mal.' i. 6; ii. 1-9; iii. 3 (priests); i. 13 f.; iii. 5-11 (worshippers).

[4] Neh. xiii. 4 ff., 10 ff., 28 ff. Cf. Ezra ix. 1, x. 18.

[5] Neh. ii. 16: סְגָנִים; an Assyrian or Babylonian term, *Shaknu*, one appointed or instituted to an office (Del. *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*). On the cuneiform inscriptions and in Jer. li. and Ezek. xxiii. applied to generals and governors of provinces. The Greek form was ζωγάνης.

[6] Neh. vii. 5, Ezra ix. 2. Neh. v. 17 must therefore be read so as to make *Jews* and *rulers* synonymous; *besides those which came from the heathen about us*. So the Vulgate.

Ezra calls the *Sārîm, officers* or *princes*, but Nehemiah the *Sārîm* and *Ḥorîm, nobles* or free-born Jews, so that the whole congregation as registered and taking upon themselves the law are said to consist of *Ḥorim, Sĕganim, and the People.*[1] Elsewhere the popular assembly, which gathers to discuss reforms and to ratify the law it is to live under, is described as *all the men of Judah and Benjamin; the Sarim of the whole Congregation* or *Ḳahal; the people gathered as one man; the children of Israel assembled; all who have separated themselves from the peoples of the land unto the Law of God, their wives, sons and daughters, every one having knowledge and understanding, who cleave to their brethren the Ḥorim and enter into ban and oath to walk in God's Law.*[2] *Elders* are named as such only under Darius I., and by Ezra on his arrival.[3] Thus we may conceive of the authority in all religious and local affairs as emanating from the whole adult population, who covenanted with their God to live by the Law; while from the *elders* of the *noble* or *free-born* families would be selected the *Sarim*, whom we may define as *persons in office*, or *Sĕganim, deputies* (that is of the Persian authority). To these would be committed the local administration of justice and other affairs in Jerusalem and the townships of the country. But all were under the power and subject to the direct interference of the *Peḥah*, or Persian governor. When he had set up the walls and the gates, Nehemiah gave his brother Ḥanani and Ḥananiah, *the Sar*,

[1] Neh. vii. 5. The other references are Ezra ix. 2; Neh. ii. 16; iv. 8 [14 Eng.], 13 [19 Eng.]; v. 7, 17; vi. 17; vii. 5; ix. 38; xi. 1; xii. 40; xiii. 11, 17. *Heads of families*, Ezra i. 5; ii. 68; Neh. vii. 70. *Rulers*, a moneyed class, v. 7.

[2] Ezra x. 1, 9, 14; Neh. viii. 1; ix. 1; x. 28.

[3] Ezra v. 9 (Aramaic Document); x. 8; cf. 14, *elders and judges of every city.*

or *Officer, of the Castle, charge over Jerusalem*, with the particular duties of seeing to the shutting and opening of the gates and of appointing *Mishmĕrôth* or *watches* from among the inhabitants, *every one in his own watch, and every one over against his own house.* He also instituted a special police from among the only classes whom, as we shall see, he could thoroughly trust: the *Levites, singers and gatekeepers* of the Temple.[1] Further, he gave direct orders for the shutting of the gates upon the Sabbath to the exclusion of foreign traders; and in his great energy he did not hesitate to take into his own hands the enforcement of other laws.[2]

The City Watchman.

It is well to remind ourselves here of how a town was watched in those early days. The people selected *a man from among themselves, and set him for their watchman*; and he warned the people of the approach of danger by blowing a horn.[3] During the rebuilding of the walls *he that blew on the horn* stood by Nehemiah.[4]

4. From Nehemiah to the Maccabees, 431-168 B.C.

Factions in the Community.

I have called the government in Nehemiah's days a 'system,' and it proceeded under the sanction of an accepted law, written and detailed. But some of the last details I have quoted, and indeed all the records, make it clear that for the time the 'system' was held together and enforced largely by the energy of Nehemiah himself, who had no successor; and that within the covenanting community there were

[1] Neh. vii. 1-3.
[2] xiii. 15-31.
[3] Ezek. xxxiii. 2 ff.; cf. Amos iii. 6.
[4] Neh. iv. 18 [Hebr. iv. 12].

classes or factions which were certain to break loose when Nehemiah was no longer present. On the one hand were the chief priestly families and some of the lay nobles, even among those lately returned from Babylonia, who were far from loyal to Nehemiah's purposes, and related themselves in marriage, or conducted correspondence, with the hostile forces outside the community.[1] Nor were these lay and priestly factions, though thus bound by a common temptation, wholly at one among themselves; their particular interests must have frequently diverged. But over against the ambition and licence of both lay the stricter party, devoted to the law, either professionally because they were its scribes and doctors, or with that real conscience for its authority which never died out of the mass of the Jewish population. These we may consider as the more democratic party. Finally, the law itself was not yet complete; there is evidence that it received additions after Nehemiah's time. Here, therefore, was not only room for such a development of the constitution as we shall find taking place up to the time of the Maccabees, but all the materials for that controversy and struggle between factions, through which we may be equally sure the development proceeded.

The Constitution in the Priestly Law.

Though the priests set their seals to the law along with the rest of the Jews, Nehemiah assigned to them no posts among the executive officers of Jerusalem; and indeed while the High Priest himself was traitorous to the measures of the reforming governor, there is evidence that the latter could almost as little rely on the general body of the priest-

[1] See below, Bk. III., chapter on Nehemiah.

hood.[1] But the Law, which Ezra and he had induced the people to accept, gave to the priesthood, and in particular to the High Priest, with that branch of the tribe of Levi to which he belonged—for the office was now hereditary—a supremacy not only over the Temple and its ritual, but over the nation as a whole. The priestly legislation, which was the new element introduced into the Law by Ezra, knows no king. The High Priest (to whom the earlier 'Law of Holiness' ascribes a peculiar sanctity, but whom it still regards as one among his *brethren*[2]) is, in the body of the Priestly Code and in its later additions, *the Anointed*,[3] and is invested with, besides the oil, the turban and the diadem.[4] He stands before God an equivalent unit with the nation: *thyself and the people*;[5] his offering for pardon is equal to theirs;[6] and the term of a high priest's life determines the period during which a homicide must dwell in a city of refuge.[7] On the other hand, the Priestly Code hardly mentions the elders by that name.[8] The High Priest is to surround himself with the *princes of Israel* or *of the congregation*, *heads of families*, elsewhere numbered as twelve, to represent the different tribes.[9] They are described as the *chiefs of the*

[1] See below, under Nehemiah, Bk. III.

[2] Lev. xxi. 10-15; cf. xxi. 1-9.

[3] הַמָּשִׁיחַ, Lev. iv. 3; viii. 12; cf. Exod. xxix. 7; Num. xxxv. 25.

[4] Ex. xxix. 6.

[5] Lev. ix. 7, etc.

[6] Lev. iv. 3 f., 13 ff.

[7] Num. xxxv. 25.

[8] Lev. iv. 15 is really the only passage (*elders of the congregation*, עדה), for in Lev. ix. 1 the phrase is probably a later insertion.

[9] Num. vii. 2; cf. i. 4-15. The term *princes of Israel*, נְשִׂיאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, seems to belong to the supplementary parts of P. The body of the document calls them *p. of the congregation*, נשׂיא העדה, Ex. xvi. 22; Num. iv. 34; xvi. 2 (250 of them); xxxi. 13; xxxii. 2; Jos. ix. 15, 18; xxii. 30. See Driver, *Introd.* 132 f., and G. B. Gray on Num. vii. 2.

thousands, or *clans of Israel*, and as *those who are called to the Diet* or *Assembly*; they attend the national leader and hear petitions with him from the tribes; they represent the nation in engagements with other peoples.[1] In other words, they are the same as the *elders* or *Sarim* of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the earlier Old Testament writings. But we must not fail to notice the higher dignity of the name given to them by the Priestly Code; this has hitherto been reserved for the royal head of the nation.[2] The change appears to represent a step in the political evolution which we are following; the selection, perhaps, when a civil governor ceased at Jerusalem, of the most notable chiefs of families to assist the High Priest in the government. But just as in the data supplied by Nehemiah there is no evidence of the incorporation of the *Sarim* in a definite court or college, so with the *Nĕsî'îm* of the Priestly Code, although it numbers those who are to stand round Moses as twelve. The Elohist states a number destined to prevail in the later history, *seventy elders* whom Moses was bidden to take with him to the mountain, and again to the door of the Tabernacle, where the spirit of prophecy descended upon them.[3]

The Chronicler (*circa* 300) attributes to King Jehoshaphat (873-849) the institution of a definite court with a double jurisdiction, secular and sacred:[4] *In Jerusalem did he set up of the Levites and the priests, and of the heads of the families of Israel for the mishpat*, or *cultus*, *of Jahweh, and for judging the*

The High Court of the Chronicler.

[1] For these references see in previous note the passages on *the princes of the congregation*, and note 2 on p. 390.

[2] The King, 1 Kings xi. 34; Sheshbazzar, Ezra i. 8; and especially by Ezekiel vii. 27; xii. 10; xlv. 7 ff., etc.

[3] Ex. xxiv. 9; Num. xi. 16, 24: with Moses, 71, *Mishna*, 'Sanh.' i. 6.

[4] 2 Chron. xix. 8-11.

inhabitants of Jerusalem[1] . . . *Whensoever any controversy shall come to you from your brethren, that dwell in their cities, between blood and blood, between law and commandment, statutes and judgments, ye shall advise them. . . . Amariah the chief priest is over you in all the matters of Jahweh, and Zebadiah, the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah, in all the King's matters, and the Levites shall be scribes,* or *officers, before you.* There is no doubt that the Chronicler sometimes employs ancient and reliable sources of information, not drawn upon by the editors of the Book of Kings. Is this one of them? The definiteness of the information, and the division of the presidency between the secular and sacred heads of the community (which did not exist in the Chronicler's own day), predispose us in favour of the passage. But on the other hand, the diction is the Chronicler's own; and we may feel sure that if an institution so basal and definite had existed before the Exile, the Books of Kings would not have failed to notice it,[2] and some remnant of such a court would have survived in the days of Nehemiah. The division between secular and sacred seems to exclude the theory that the passage is a mere reflection of the conditions in the Chronicler's own day; for then, as we shall see, the High Priest presided over both Temple and Nation; but the passage may be the Chronicler's protest against this monopoly. Otherwise it is the recollection of something that really prevailed after the Exile, and before the High Priests had absorbed the civil supremacy. Levites and priests have a place in this Court not given them by the Priestly Code.

[1] With LXX. read יוֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלָם for וַיָּשֻׁבוּ י״.

[2] Cf. Wellhausen, *Prol.* (E.T.) 191.

No further light is thrown upon the subject by any other Old Testament writer. Joel, about 400 B.C., and the author of 'Zechariah' ix.-xiv., some eighty years later, are too engrossed with disasters to the land, physical and political, and too hurried into Apocalypse, to give thought to the institutions of their City. The *assembly of the congregation* which Joel summons is for worship. In the Book of Proverbs none but kings and princes,[1] a *Sar*, a judge, and a ruler are mentioned. Bribery and false witness are condemned; going to law is deprecated; but there is a singular absence from these popular sayings of the names of the national institutions. Other O.T. Writings.

Consequently our next witness is a Greek, the first of Greeks to have any real information about Jerusalem. Hecatæus of Abdera, *circa* 300 B.C.,[2] reports that 'the Jews have never had a king, but committed the presidency of the people throughout to that one of the priests who was reputed to excel in wisdom and virtue; him they call Chief Priest, and consider to be the messenger to them of the commands of God. It is he who in the *ecclesiae*, and other synods, transmits the precepts' or orders.[3] The Jews prostrate themselves before this 'interpreting Chief Priest.' Moses 'chose the most genial and able men to preside over the nation, and instituted them as priests' for the service of the Temple, but also as 'judges in the most serious cases, and entrusted them with the care of the laws and morals.' Hecatæus of Abdera.

[1] נדיב and נגיד.

[2] Quoted in a fragment of Diod. Siculus, Müller, *Fragm. Histor. Graecorum*, ii. 391 f.; cf. Reinach, *Textes . . . Relatifs au Judaïsme*, 14 ff.

[3] Τὰ παραγγελλόμενα.

Hecatæus adds, that while all the citizens had the national territory distributed among them by lot, 'the lots of the priests were the greater that they might enjoy the more considerable revenues, and so give themselves without distraction to the worship of the Deity.' Here, just as with the Chronicler, is a regular court of priests. Not only is it presided over by the High Priest, but is subject to his absolute powers as mediator and interpreter of the Divine will. Like other Greek writers on the Jews, Hecatæus was blinded to the share of the laity in the conduct of affairs, probably by the brilliance of the national worship and the priesthood. Yet that share, as we have seen, was a considerable one, and it was secured to the laity by the Law.

Greek Version of the Law.

The next evidence may be taken from the Greek translation of the Law, which was made in the third century. Sometimes this version renders the Hebrew words for *elders* and *princes* by their Greek equivalents, *presbuteroi* and *archontes*, or *archēgoi*, but sometimes also by the collective term *Gerousia* or *Senate*;[1] and translates the description of them as *summoned to the Diet* by the phrase *called together to the Boulē* or *Council*.[2]

The Pseudo-Aristeas.

In the 'Letter of Aristeas to Philokrates' we have not, as it pretends, the testimony of a Greek ambassador from Ptolemy Philadelphus, 286-247, to the High Priest Eleazar; but the work, perhaps about 200, of a Jewish writer, well acquainted with the City and

[1] Γερουσία, Ex. xxiv. 9 (cf. 1); Lev. ix. 1, of the elders of the nation, and always, save once in Deuteronomy: xix. 12; xxi. 2-4, 6, 19; xxii. 15-18; xxv. 7-9, the Γερουσία τῆς πόλεως. In xxi. 20, for *elders* the LXX. reads *men*.

[2] קְרִיאֵי מוֹעֵד (or קְרוּאֵי), σύγκλητοι βουλῆς, Num. i. 16; xvi. 2; xxvi. 9.

the land.[1] He represents Ptolemy as treating with Eleazar alone, and describes the power and splendour of the latter, 'the ruling chief priest,' in terms which recall those of Hecatæus. The High Priest consults with an assembly 'of the whole nation.' The constituents of the nation are the host of priests; the Temple servants; the carefully selected garrison of the Akra, which, 'standing on a very lofty spot with many towers, dominated the localities about the Temple'; and the citizens.[2]

Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of the Son of Sira, about 180 B.C., sheds little light on the exact forms of government in Jerusalem; the spirit of the author is more concerned with their moral influence. Jesus ben Sira. It was *Simon the son of Johanan, the priest, great one of his brethren and the glory of his people*, who by repairing and fortifying the Temple, making a reservoir and building the wall, *took thought for his people against the spoiler, and strengthened his City against siege*.[3] His glory in his robes at the altar, surrounded by the sons of Aaron in their glory, the choir and all the people of the land, who bowed down before him as he blessed them, is vividly described.[4] The *congregation* or *assembly* is mentioned under both of its Hebrew names, and in one case called *the congregation of God's gates* (?);[5] associated both by

[1] Swete, *Introd. to the O.T. in Greek*, 10-16. The text of the letter edited with introd. by H. St. J. Thackeray will be found in the Appendix, 499-574.

[2] The High Priest, 519, 521, 525-527, 533-536; the citizens, 519, 527; the other priests and Temple servants, 534-536; the Akra and garrison, 537, of the above edition. The presiding chief priest (*τοῦ προστατοῦντος ἀρχιερέως*, 533) convenes the whole people (*συναγαγόντες τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος*, 527).

[3] L. 1-4. I have followed the Hebrew text from the edition in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, by Schechter and Taylor (Camb., 1899, p. 19).

[4] L. 5 ff.

[5] Both עדה, *συναγωγή*, and קהלה, *ἐκκλησία*, iv. 7, vii. 7. עדת שׁערי אל.

this name and otherwise with judicial processes.[1] The *congregation* is also equivalent to *the people*.[2] There are *elders*,[3] *great men of the people*, and *leaders of the City* or *of the Ecclesia*;[4] *dynasts* or *men in power*,[5] whom the Hebrew calls *rulers* and *judges*.[6] It is evident from more than one passage that the common man most in the way of promotion to these dignities is *the scribe*.[7] Among the worst evils to be feared in Jerusalem are the *slander of the town, mob law, and false accusation*.[8] On the whole, the Son of Sira may be said to write from a democratic point of view, and in a popular temper, but with special emphasis on his own profession, the scribes.

Such is the literary evidence as to the government of the City and Nation, which dates from within the period itself. I turn now to the later histories. It is in this very period, and towards the end of the third century B.C., that Jewish historians begin to speak of a *Gerousia* or *Senate* beside the High Priest. Josephus quotes a letter of Antiochus the Great, 233-187, in which the king reports that upon his approach to Jerusalem the Jews came out to meet him with their *Gerousia*, and that he has discharged *the Gerousia*, the priests, the Temple scribes, and the sacred singers, from all taxes.[9] The Second Book of Maccabees states that the *Gerousia* sent three men to Antiochus Epiphanes in

Josephus, 1st and 2nd Maccabees.

[1] xxiii. 24, and especially xxxviii. 33. The adulterer, too, is punished in the broad places of the City, xxiii. 21; the adulteress brought *out* to the congregation, 24.

[2] xxxiii. 18 [19]; xliv. 15; l. 20.

[3] vi. 34 not in the Hebrew.

[4] Μεγιστᾶνες (also found in the LXX.), Heb. שלטון, iv. 7; xxxiii. 18 [19], and ἡγούμενοι, x. 2; xxxiii. 18 [19].

[5] iv. 27; x. 3, δυναστῶν, מושלים.

[6] x. 2, κριτής.

[7] x. 5; xxxviii. 24-xxxix. 11.

[8] Διαβολὴν πόλεως καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ὄχλου καὶ καταψευσμόν, xxvi. 5, not in Hebrew.

[9] Jos. xii. *Ant.* iii. 3.

170, and quotes a letter from Antiochus, of date 164, addressed to the *Gerousia of the Jews and the other Jews*.[1] The First Book of Maccabees speaks, to begin with, only of *rulers and elders*[2] in Israel; but of the letter, which it quotes as sent to the Spartans about 144, the superscription runs: *Jonathan the High Priest and the Gerousia of the nation, and the priests and the rest of the people of the Jews*.[3] The formal inscription of the national gratitude to Simon is dated as follows: *In the third year*, 139 B.C., *of Simon the High Priest and Prince of the People of God* (?), *in a great Congregation of Priests and People, Rulers of the Nation and Elders of the Land*.[4]

From all this evidence we may reasonably infer that the formation of a definite Synod or Senate at Jerusalem came about in the following manner. First, the High Priest, whose rank was hereditary, extended his civil power: partly no doubt through the absence of a Persian governor of Jerusalem, partly by the great ability of some holders of the office, but chiefly by the support of the large priesthood and the possession of a fortified temple; under the sanction of the Law accepted by the people from Nehemiah, and with those opportunities of adding to it, which were taken advantage of in the generations subsequent to Nehemiah. Such a president of the nation and interpreter of the Law would seek to fortify his growing office by a council not merely of his own profession and family, but of the leaders of the foremost lay families, the *elders of Israel*, or at least of those of

Conclusions from the foregoing evidence, as to the growth of the Senate: 1. Under the Persians.

[1] 2 Macc. iv. 44; xi. 27. [2] 1 Macc. i. 26; the date referred to is 168 B.C.

[3] xii. 6 (cf. the equivalent, *elders of the people*, 35; *elders and nation of the Jews*, xiii. 36; *high priest, elders, priests, and residue of the people*, xiv. 20.

[4] xiv. 27 ff.; for εν Σαραμελ read perhaps ישר עם אל.

them who, as *Sarim* and *Seganim*, had vested rights to official positions, and were recognised by the law as *Nĕsî'îm* or *Princes*. And it would be in his interest, as well as conformable to the tendency of the Law, to have their eligibility, their number and their functions more or less clearly defined. As for their number, the Law gave precedents: *the seventy elders* and the *twelve princes*. No doubt there were many controversies over the matter between the priests on the one side and the laity on the other. But the High Priest had the advantage. He was *The Anointed*; and among a people so absorbed in worship, whose only legal temple was a citadel within their capital, the impression of his sacred rank and of his splendour as he performed the rites, as well as of his material power, must have been, as several of our witnesses both Greek and Jew testify, not less than overpowering. On the other hand, there were the long-established rights of the heads of the principal lay families to a voice in public affairs; and behind all was the splendid consciousness which, as we shall see, Israel never lost, that the ultimate source of authority was the people itself, the whole congregation and assembly of the faithful. How far the balance of power and interest among these forces was crossed or disturbed by political crises, such as the disasters to the City, we have no means of knowing; but it is extremely probable that such crises would give now one faction and now another the advantage. On the whole, as we see from nearly all our witnesses, the High Priest prevailed and strengthened his supremacy. Probably, as in the Greek period, he was responsible to Persia for the taxes of his people. Whether in the records of the period itself or in the histories of Josephus,

he stands wonderfully on high. Yet we must remember that the lay leaders passed into the period with ancient and well-confirmed habits of governing; that the Law had partly organised them; that both it commands, and some of our witnesses testify to, their presence round the High Priest on many national occasions; and that others associate with them the priests. Josephus cannot be wrong when, with all the precedence he gives the High Priest, he describes the general result as 'a form of government that was an aristocracy, but mixed with oligarchy, for the chief priests were at the head of affairs.'[1]

2. Under the Ptolemies.

But, secondly, there arose in Palestine, from the invasion of Alexander the Great onwards, an increasing number of Greek cities, each with its democratic council; and the example of these, perhaps along with the advice or pressure of the Greek sovereigns of Judæa, cannot but have told on the institutions of the Jews, who, whether willing or unwilling, became more and more subject to Hellenic influence.[2] Kuenen gives a somewhat different explanation: in the goodwill towards Jews of the Ptolemies, their masters during the third century, as contrasted with the smaller amount of independence vouchsafed them by the Persians. The contrast is by no means so certain as he assumes. In Nehemiah's time, at least, the Jews had favour shown them by the Persian king, sufficient to have permitted the formation of an organised senate had other influences been existent to lead to the creation of this. The interested kindness of the Ptolemies may have provided the opportunity, but it is more probable that the stimulus itself came from the example of the Greek or Hellenised towns in Palestine.

[1] xi. *Ant.* iv. 8.

[2] Hecatæus (§ 9) admits this.

The names which are given to the new institution are Greek, *Gerousia* and *Boulē*: no insignificant evidence as to the influences which had assisted to mould it.

In any case, by the end of the period we have surveyed, there was associated with the High Priest in the government of the nation a definite senate composed of priests, scribes and the heads of families, which in the name of Israel conducted negotiations with other states. That they are regarded by the First Book of Maccabees as equivalent to the *elders and rulers of the people*, there can be no doubt.[1] Therefore we may add to the Senate's administrative functions the supreme judicial power: this is supported by the Septuagint's use of the term *Gerousia*.

A definite Senate in existence by the beginning of the 2nd century.

From the facts that some of our witnesses do not use the term *Gerousia*, and that those who do nowhere record the creation of a senate, nor offer a definition or statistics of it, the argument might reasonably be urged, that the writers who speak of a *Gerousia* of the Jews are only following a fashion to which Jews were prone, of giving Greek names, often far from appropriate, to their own institutions. This is possible, but I do not feel that it is certain. The Jewish constitution, it is true, was not Hellenised to the same extent as those of the surrounding Semitic states.[2] The City never received, like the others, a Greek name; she

Possible objections and alternatives.

[1] See above, p. 393 note 3.

[2] Gustav Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen u. hellenist. Zeit*, 68, has, in my opinion, gone too far when he concludes that 'Jerusalem was also ranged in the Hellenistic organisation of the land, and with its territory may have been called *νομός*.' He founds this, p. 74, on the supposition that of the four *nomoi* mentioned in 1 Macc. xi. 57, Judæa is the fourth. Much more probably this is *Ekron*; cf. x. 89.

kept her own religion, and was governed by her own High Priest. But with this seclusion the formation of a senate in imitation of Greek models was compatible, and I feel that on the whole the evidence is in favour of the fact that such a senate was formed in Jerusalem before 200 B.C. The alternative is that it first appeared on the organisation of Jerusalem as a Greek town by Antiochus in 168.

There were, of course, local courts as well. The elders of each township continued to sit in its gates as of old and as sanctioned by the law. It is perhaps to such a burgh-court in Jerusalem that the Son of Sira alludes as *the congregation of the gates*,[1] *the leaders of the City*.[2] In that case the supreme court may also have been the town's court. Unfortunately, the data of the Son of Sira are ambiguous. The only other gathering for judgment which he mentions is one of the whole people, who are also mentioned as a whole in the list of national authorities in the Books of Maccabees. There is no trace of a select body of leaders distinct from the *Gerousia*, and possessing only spiritual or religious authority.[3] Such a division of jurisdiction would have been contrary to the principle which runs through the Jewish law, of the identity of the secular and sacred. That the *Gerousia* divided itself, as the Chronicler asserts of Jehoshaphat's supreme court, into—not two courts—but two different kinds of sessions, one to deal with religious matters and one to deal with civil, is of course possible. But upon the evidence it is as impossible to separate (as he does) the High Priest's supremacy from the secular as from the sacred cases.

No evidence of another Supreme Court.

[1] vii. 7 (Heb.). See above, p. 391. [2] x. 2.
[3] As suggested in the *Jewish Encycl.*, art. 'Sanhedrin.'

The fiscal administration of Judah was in his charge.[1] We must also note that in religious matters, not priests only but scribes had already a great and a growing influence.

5. The Reconstitution of Israel, 168-142 B.C.

Destruction and Restoration of the Jewish Institutions.

We have seen that out of the priesthood and those elders of Israel whom the Priestly Law appointed as councillors of the High Priest and his colleagues in dealing with other states, and whom it dignified with the name of *Nesî'îm* or *Princes*, there was probably developed by the close of the third century B.C., under the influence of Greek models, a definite *Gerousia*, *Boulē*, or Senate, which was associated with the High Priest in his government of the nation. In the words of Josephus already quoted, the Jewish government was 'an aristocracy with an oligarchy.' In the period of the constitutional history of Israel which we are to traverse in this section, the first facts to be appreciated are that whatever institutions the Jews hitherto had were broken up by the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164) and subsequent events; and that a fresh system of national authority, following of course the old lines, had to be organised from the foundation by Judas Maccabeus and his brothers. These are facts not sufficiently emphasised by the historians, many of whom too readily assume the continuity of the Jewish constitution from the age of Nehemiah to that of Christ.

Under the Ptolemies the High-priesthood had been

[1] Jos. xii. *Ant.* iv. 1.

hereditary in the Aaronite family of the Oniadæ, and so continued under the reign of the Syrian Seleucus IV. (187-175), the High Priest being still Onias, son of that Simon who is probably praised by Ben Sira. Even when Antiochus IV., soon after his accession in 175, deposed the virtuous Onias, it was a brother of the latter, Jeshua (Jesus) or Jason, who succeeded. But the means which he employed to oust his brother, outbidding him in the amount of tribute he promised, and undertaking to introduce Greek fashions among his people, prepared the way for his own downfall, and was the beginning of all the national troubles. Another family, the Tobiadæ, had in the meantime, by the management of the royal taxes, risen to great influence in Jerusalem. An adherent of theirs, Menelaus, was sent by Jason with the annual tribute to Antiochus, and Menelaus, who according to one account (but this seems incredible) was not even a member of the priestly tribe, seized the opportunity to get the High-priesthood for himself, outbidding Jason by 300 talents of silver.[1] The struggles between Jason and Menelaus—each of whom had his own faction in Jerusalem, while both disgusted the pious Jews by their Hellenising, and the body of the people by their tyranny—led to the interference of Antiochus, who shattered the whole system, of which, by these irreligious and illegitimate means, they sought the presi-

Their destruction by Antiochus IV. in 168 B.C.

[1] There are two divergent accounts: 2 Macc. iii., iv., according to which Menelaus was the brother of Simon a Benjamite (iii. 4; iv. 23), and Josephus, xii. *Ant.* v. 1, according to which he was a younger brother of Jason. But Josephus allows that the support of the Tobiadæ was given to Menelaus. Many take him, therefore, to have been a Tobiad, but this is nowhere stated, and the opposite is a natural inference from the words of Josephus; cf. Schürer, *Gesch.* (3) i. 195 *n.* 28.

dency. It is well to note that till this catastrophe, the *Gerousia* or Senate continued to exist, and they protested against the conduct of Menelaus.[1] But in 168 the Temple was desecrated, Jerusalem organised as a Greek town, and the worship of Hellenic deities enforced throughout Judæa. Numbers of Jews had already volunteered apostasy,[2] others now succumbed to the persecution.

New Birth of the Congregation.

Those who remained faithful to the Law, and *pursued righteousness and judgment*,[3] fled to the mountains and the desert. In the wilderness the constitution of Israel, without City, Temple or High Priest, formed itself anew from those primal elements, the consciences of a people faithful to their God, from which it had been originally created. The description of the process carries us back not only to the time of Nehemiah and Ezra, for they had a City, a Temple and a High Priest, but rather to that of Gideon and Deborah, with this difference, however, that there was now a written and a fixed Law. The remnant which went down into the wilderness were a number of the ordinary families of Israel: men, *their sons, wives, and cattle*;[4] those who fled to the mountains were doubtless of the same class. At first their zeal for the Law would not allow them to fight on the Sabbath, and on that day a large number were slain unresisting. But a family of priests, of the order of Jehoiarib—Mattathias and his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar and Jonathan—had signalised themselves by starting at their own village of

[1] 2 Macc. iv. 44.

[2] *Id.* 10, 13 ff.

[3] 1 Macc. ii. 29, *δικαιοσύνην καὶ κρίμα*, evidently for the Hebrew צדק ומשפט, though the latter is usually in the inverse order. *Judgment* covers the religious and ceremonial law as well as justice.

[4] 1 Macc. ii. 30.

Modein, in the Shephelah, an active revolt against the officers of Antiochus, and by advocating armed resistance even though it should involve disregard of the Sabbath. Mattathias was accepted as leader of the fugitives, and mustered an army. He was joined by a more or less organised group of men of position in Israel, zealots for the Law, calling themselves *Hasîdîm*, that is *Pious* or *Devout*.[1] All this happened in 167.[2] In the following year Mattathias died, exhorting his followers to faithfulness to the Law, even unto death, and advising them to take Simon for their counsellor and Judas for their captain.[3] The simple words of the historian emphasise how Israel was resolved into its elements. The *people and their sanctuary were in ruin*; but *the congregation was gathered for battle and for prayer*.[4]

They had, too, the Law, with its prescribed institutions and its examples and precedents from the heroic age of the national history. At Mizpeh, *a place of prayer aforetime for Israel*, Judas arranged a pathetic ghost of the legal service of the Temple, and effected a closer organisation of his forces also with scrupulous respect to the directions of the Torah.[5] After a solemn fast and reading of the Book of the Law they gathered, as if in sacramental remembrance of their immediate duty, the ineffectual remnants of the Temple ritual: priests' robes, first-fruits, tithes, and such Nazarites

Reorganisation by Judas.

[1] The term is difficult to translate by one English word, as the noun from which it comes signifies not only *love* (in this case towards God), but fidelity also to their covenant with Him.

[2] ii. 1-30. [3] ii. 49-70.

[4] 'Ἀναστήσωμεν τὴν καθαίρεσιν τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἁγίων.' Καὶ ἠθροίσθησαν ἡ συναγωγὴ τοῦ εἶναι ἑτοίμους εἰς πόλεμον καὶ τοῦ προσεύξασθαι, κ.τ.λ., 1 Macc. iii. 43 f.

[5] iii. 46-56.

as had accomplished their days.[1] After this Judas appointed *leaders of the people*, later on called *scribes of the people*,[2] which is but the Greek translation of the ancient *shôṭĕre ha'am*—the captains or tribunes of the nation when it was mobilised for war—*officers of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens*. By 165 B.C. the army amounted, we are told, to 10,000 men.[3] In the restoration of the Temple and the renewal of the services that same year nothing is said of the rank of the priests employed, only that they were selected as *being blameless and well-wishers to the Law*.[4] The legislative power is described as *Judas, his brethren and the whole Ecclesia of Israel*;[5] and again it is said that *a great Ecclesia was assembled* to consult as to what should be done for the Jews in Gilead and Galilee.[6]

The High Priest Alkimos.

We need not linger over the appearance in 161 of the High Priest Alcimos or Eliakim, a man of the seed of Aaron but not of the family of Onias; nor upon his leadership of the Hellenising faction, his institution to the office by Demetrius, his acceptance by the Hasîdîm, or the struggles between him and Judas, who rightly never trusted him.[7] They

[1] Verse 49 reads ἤγειραν, which modern versions render by the senseless *stirred up*, as if from ἐγείρω. Wellhausen ingeniously suggests the emendation ἔκειραν, *shaved*, but with a very necessary query after it in view of verse 50, which goes on to say that the people then asked God with despair what they should do with the Nazarites. The proper reading, of course, is ἤγειραν, the aor. of ἀγείρω, frequent in Greek for the mustering of men.

[2] v. 42, γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ = שֹׁוטְרֵי הָעָם.

[3] iv. 29.

[4] iv. 42.

[5] iv. 59.

[6] v. 16.

[7] 1 Macc. vii. 5 ff.; Jos. xx. *Ant.* x. 3; cf. xii. *Ant.* ix. 7, from which and from 2 Macc. xiv. 3 we learn that Alcimos, or Jacimus, had already acted as High Priest.

passed away within a short time of each other—159 B.C.

Two points, however, require emphasis. The High-priesthood was now vacant, and for seven years remained so.[1] Moreover, the Seleucids now saw that it was impossible to extirpate the Jewish religion, and gave the Jews formal permission to practise it in the Temple and elsewhere, upon which the Hasîdîm withdrew from the active revolt. Henceforth this was carried on as a political movement, hardly, as Wellhausen judges, for the mere sovereignty of the Maccabean house, but rather for the independence of the Jewish nation.

Jonathan took the leadership in place of his brother, and, after several campaigns, ruled Israel in peace from Michmash for three or four years (156-152).[2] In 153 King Alexander Balas, outbidding his rival Demetrius for the support of Jonathan, appointed the latter High Priest, with a purple robe and crown of gold; and at the Feast of Tabernacles in that year Jonathan put on the holy garments.[3] In 150 he was further empowered to act as *military and civil governor of the province* of Judæa.[4] Thus the High-priesthood, which had already passed from the house of Onias, fell to a family of priests, whose representatives by their religious energy and valour had won an indubitable right to it, and who secured in addition civil and military titles not

Jonathan, High Priest and Governor.

[1] The death of Alcimos was after that of Judas, according to 1 Macc. ix. 54, but before that of Judas, according to Josephus, who adds that Judas was made by the people High Priest in his stead, but afterwards contradicts this by affirming that after Alcimos the office was vacant seven years and then filled by Jonathan (xii. *Ant.* ix. 7; xx. *Ant.* x.).

[2] 1 Macc. ix. 23-73; Jos. xiii. *Ant.* i.

[3] 1 Macc. x. 18 ff.

[4] Καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ μεριδάρχην, 65.

before granted to any High Priest by any sovereign of Israel. In 146-145 the Jewish territory was enlarged, and for the payment of three hundred talents was relieved of the king's tithes, tolls and other taxes.[1] Jonathan removed his residence to Jerusalem, and in counsel with the elders of the people strengthened the walls.[2] We may be sure also that he did for the Holy City what we are told that Simon did for Gezer: *cleansed the houses where idols were, put all uncleanness away, and placed in it such men as would keep the Law.*[3] Like Nehemiah, he would enlist a special police.

Simon, High Priest and Ethnarch.

On his succession to Jonathan in 143-2 Simon was confirmed in the High-priesthood and freedom from taxes by Demetrius II., and the Jews began to write on their contracts and other documents, *In the first year of Simon the great High Priest, Captain and Governor of the Jews.*[4] For the last of these titles the more definite *Ethnarch* is also given,[5] while the formal proclamation of his people's gratitude invests Simon with (so far as they are concerned) absolute power and dignity.[6] In all but name he was King of the Jews. But the authority which under God conferred his power is called *a great convocation of priests and people and of rulers of the nation and elders of the country.*[7] If the definite *Gerousia* or Senate had been reconstituted, the name was probably purposely avoided, and the more ancient designations substituted. A difficulty remains

[1] xi. 28-37. [2] x. 10, xii. 36; 'approved by τὸ πλῆθος,' xiii. *Ant.* v. 11.
[3] xiii. 47 f.
[4] xiii. 42; cf. xiv. 28 (on which see above), 47.
[5] xiv. 47; xv. 2. [6] xiv. 27-47.
[7] Ἐπὶ συναγωγῆς μεγάλης τῶν ἱερέων καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἀρχόντων ἔθνους καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῆς χώρας, xiv. 28.

[illegible] Tyre under [illegible] Bust of Antio[illegible] ANTIOXOT BASIAEOS: eagl[illegible] of galley [illegible] wing closed over right wing a palm, [illegible] above a club, in field rig[illegible] AK. IOP (= 135 [illegible]). See [illegible] 54. Nos. 59-60.

5. Silver Tetradrachm. ([illegible]) of [illegible] Mikart (see 2 Ma[illegible] 19); [illegible] ing on rudder with closed wings [illegible] [illegible] in field left, date [illegible] [illegible] 263. Nos. [illegible]

[illegible] Shekel [illegible]

[illegible] Bronze Coin of Tyre. Head of [illegible] [illegible] IOPAZ MITP[illegible] above [illegible] [illegible] 267. Nos. 35.

8. Silver Shekel of Simon Maccabaeus (but see pp. 405 f.). Chalice with broad rim, above it the date [illegible] year 2 = 137 B.C., round the edge [illegible] shekel of Israel: lily (?) with three blooms, round the edge [illegible] Holy' (see [illegible]). From the [illegible] of Glasgow, [illegible] [illegible] 424 f.

[illegible] (135 [illegible]) [illegible] with a [illegible] the Hebrew legend on the other side see [illegible] Madden [illegible] Kennedy, [illegible]

10. Bronze Coin of [illegible] Jannaeus (103 [illegible]). An anchor with two bars; on other side eight spokes of a wheel (of the sun's rays, as usually interpreted). For the Greek and Hebrew legends see p. 409. Madden, 90; Macdonald, iii. 267.

DESCRIPTION OF COINS ON PLATE IX.

1. Silver Siglos or Daric, of a Phœnician town (?) under the Persians, probably between 424 and 338 B.C. Archer kneeling and stretching bow; galley on waves. A. R. S. Kennedy, in Hastings' *D. B.* iii. 421 f.

2. Silver Octadrachm (= Double Sheḳel) of Ṣidon under Persia (probably of the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, 359-338 B.C.); galley on waves; the King in a chariot with an Asiatic behind him. See Head, *Historia Numorum*, 672, and for other types Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow*, iii. 249, Nos. 3. 4.

3. Silver Drachm (= Quarter Sheḳel) either of Alexander the Great's time or later by some Syrian city. Head of Alexander; Zeus throned and holding eagle right and sceptre left; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. See Eckhel, *Doctrina Veterum Numorum*, ii. 98 ff.; Head, 199.

4. Silver Tetradrachm (= Sheḳel) of Tyre under Antiochus VII. (Sidetes), 138-129 B.C. Bust of Antiochus; ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; eagle standing on beak of galley with wings closed, over right wing a palm, in field left IE above a club, in field right ΑΨ, ΙΟΡ (= 135 B.C.). See Macdonald, iii. 84, Nos. 59-60.

5. Silver Tetradrachm (= Sheḳel) of Tyre. Laurelled head of Herakles Melkart (see 2 Macc. iv. 19); ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ; eagle standing on rudder with closed wings, above the right a palm branch, in front club downwards, in field left, date ΒΙ (= 114 B.C.), right Μ. See Head, 675 f.; Macdonald, iii. 263, Nos. 2 and 3.

6. Silver Didrachm (= Half-Sheḳel) of Tyre. Similar to the preceding. Date seems to read ΛΚ.

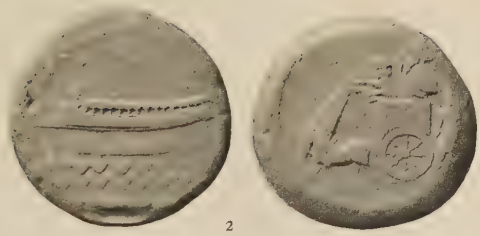
7. Bronze Coin of Tyre. Head of Herakles (?); galley with what seems to be ΙΕΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ above and ΤΥΡΙΩΝ below. Cf. Macdonald, iii. 267, No. 35.

8. Silver Shekel of Simon Maccabæus (but see pp. 405 f.). Chalice with broad rim, above it the date ב [נת]ש 'year 2' = 137 B.C., round the edge שקל ישראל, 'shekel of Israel'; lily (?) with three blooms, round the edge ירושלים הקדושה, 'Jerusalem the Holy' (see pp. 251, 270). From the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow, Macdonald, iii. 285, No. 1. Cf. Madden (ed. 1903), 68; Kennedy, 424 f.

9. Bronze Coin of John Hyrcanus (135-106 B.C.). Two cornua-copiae with a poppy-head between; for the Hebrew legend on the other side see p. 408. Madden (ed. 1903), 76 ff.; Kennedy, 425.

10. Bronze Coin of Alexander Jannaeus (103-78 B.C.) An anchor with two bars; on other side eight spokes of a wheel (not the sun's rays, as usually interpreted). For the Greek and Hebrew legends see p. 409. Madden, 90; Macdonald, iii. 287.

1



2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

SPECIMENS OF THE EARLIEST COINS CIRCULATING IN SYRIA AND JUDAEA.

Nos. 1—7, 9, 10 from the Author's Collection.
No. 8 from the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow.

with regard to the mention of a *Gerousia* of the nation in the superscription of the letter to the Spartans, under Jonathan, about 144 B.C.[1] This is the only use of the title in First Maccabees, and may be due to the fact that the letter, if genuine, was addressed to foreigners and Greeks. In the same chapter the same body is called *the elders of the people*,[2] and elsewhere *the elders and nation of the Jews*,[3] and *the high priest, priests and people, rulers and elders*.[4] These terms are in harmony with the Maccabean spirit, democratic and tenacious of ancient forms.

In 138 B.C. Antiochus VII., Sidetes, granted to Simon the right *to coin money for his country with his own dies*,[5] and this is the first coinage of their own the Jews ever had; having used before the Exile stamped weights of metal, and since the Return first the gold darics and silver shekels of the Persian kings, or the coins which these allowed Phœnician cities to strike, and then the gold staters, silver tetradrachms and drachms of Alexander, the Ptolemies and the Seleucids.[6] Whether certain silver shekels and half-shekels, with the legends 'Shekel of Israel' and 'Jerusalem the Holy' upon them,[7] discovered at Jerusalem, Jericho and elsewhere, are Simon's or not, is a question which still divides numismatists. Those who maintain the negative emphasise these facts: that the Seleucid sovereigns reserved the coinage of silver, their standard, to themselves, permitting to some privileged cities the right only of coinage in bronze; that no successor of Simon coined in silver; that the shekels, which are numbered in years from 1 to 5, cannot be fitted

The Right of Coinage.

[1] xii. 6. [2] xii. 35. [3] xiii. 36. [4] xiv. 27 f.
[5] Καὶ ἐπέτρεψά σοι ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ σου, xv. 6; Codd. ℵ V.
[6] For specimens of some of these see Plate ix. 1-7. [7] Plate ix. 8.

into the chronology of Simon's reign, because the right of coinage was granted to him only four years before his death; but if we suppose that he anticipated it and coined money from the first year of his reign onwards, coins of the sixth and seventh years are wanting; and that the shekels are not so like Seleucid coins of the period as they are to the imperial moneys of the first century B.C., to which, accordingly, they must be relegated as belonging to the first revolt against Rome, 66-70 A.D. Those of the opposite opinion appeal to the archaic aspect of the shekels, the fact that not a single specimen occurs restruck on a Roman coin, and the impossibility of extending the first revolt against Rome beyond four years, September 66 to September 70. The only other period possible for them is the reign of Simon; a royal licence to coin mere bronze money would not have been recorded; the difference between the fabric of the shekels and that of contemporary Seleucid coins is explicable by the newness of the Jewish mint; the coins of the first four years belong to Simon, and those of the fifth to John Hyrcanus; then they cease, which implies the surrender of Jerusalem in that year.[1] The question is still open, and perhaps

[1] The question, on which I hesitate to give an opinion, has been discussed both by Hebrew scholars and numismatists. Of the former, Ewald, Schürer (who gives a thorough résumé of the discussion and list of the literature, *Gesch.*, 3rd ed. i. 243 ff. App. iv.) and A. R. S. Kennedy (who in the best treatise in English on the money of the Bible (in Hastings' Bible Dictionary) works upon great numismatic knowledge as well) all decide against Simon's reign. So do a minority of numismatic authorities, Théod. Reinach (at first), Imhoof-Blumer, and Babelon. Nearly all the rest, from Eckhel onwards by De Saulcy (*Num. de la Terre Sainte*), Merzbacher (quoted by Madden and Schürer), Madden (*Coins of the Jews*, 2nd ed. 1881, 3rd ed. 1903, 65 ff.), and Head (*Historia Numorum*, 681), decide for Simon's reign; and recently Reinach, *Jewish Coins* (Eng. Trans. by Mary Hill, with App. by G. F. Hill, on forged shekels 12 ff.), who has changed from his previous position, and whose fresh reasons for Simon's reign are among those given above; George

will always be so; but if I may venture an opinion on the opposing arguments, the balance is in favour of Simon's reign. It will be noticed that these coins bear no ruler's head or name, but only that of the nation and of the City. There are also bronze coins which some attribute to Simon, in his fourth year. They bear on the reverse the legend: For the Redemption of Ṣion.[1]

From those popular and religious elements, then, and by those successive stages, so largely the efforts of the individual Maccabees, was the constitution of Israel re-created. Simon's rank was by popular acclaim fixed *for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet*:[2] that is till the voice of God Himself, whose hand had been so manifest in the advancement of this family, should take away the kingdom from them and give it to another.

6. The Hasmonean Dynasty, 142-63 B.C.

Simon's dynasty received the name not of Maccabean, which was rather reserved for Judas (and his brothers), but of Hasmonean, derived from Hashmon, the great-grandfather or grandfather of Mattathias.[3] On our present task they need not detain us long. Their coins will be

Macdonald (*Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Univ. of Glasgow*, iii. 285) and Von Sallet, who says (as quoted by Schürer) that because of the antique character of the coins and of the script of their legends they 'must fall in the time of the Maccabees.' From the later coins of the Jewish revolt they are 'completely different.'

[1] Madden, 71; Head, 682.

[2] 1 Macc. xiv. 41.

[3] Wellhausen, *Pharisäer u. Sadd.* 84 reads בֶּן חַשְׁמוֹן as the Hebrew original of *τοῦ Συμεών* in 1 Macc. ii. 1. Jos. xii. *Ant.* vi. 1 says that Mattathia's great-grandfather was Asamonaios, and in xv. *Ant.* xi. 4 he calls the family (to which he says he himself belonged, *Life*, i.) Asamonaioi. In the *Mishna* בני חשמונאי or בית, 'Middoth,' i. 6, cf. *Talmud* 'Sabb.' 21*b*. Cf. Targ. of Jonathan to 1 Sam. ii. 4.

found in the works already cited.[1] The Hasmonean kings kept their hold over the City and her factions from the castle on the north of the Temple, and by means of their mercenary guards. In his account of their campaigns and enterprises Josephus hardly mentions 'the leading men' or 'elders' of Jerusalem.[2] There is no mention of the *Gerousia* by that name. The active forces under the prince are the nation, the nobles, and the now definite parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

John Hyrcanus.

The reign of John Hyrcanus (135-104) began with a siege of Jerusalem, and her surrender to Antiochus Sidetes. But as the Syrian power decreased and became divided, and still more as Rome was appealed to by the Jews for protection, but was not yet able to interfere with their actions, Hyrcanus made the large additions to the Jewish territory and people which distinguish his reign, till his power came to resemble that of an independent king rather than of an ethnarch. Though he did not take the title, the presence of his own name upon his coins marks the nearest possible approach to its assumption. The legend of the earlier issues runs 'Jehoḥanan the High Priest and the Ḥeber (or Association) of the Jews'; that of the later, 'Jehoḥanan the High Priest, Head of the Ḥeber of the Jews.' The change may mark an actual growth of power. 'Ḥeber' has been taken to denote the *Gerousia*,[3] whose history we have followed above, and by others the whole People or the Ecclesia of Israel.[4] But recently Dr. A. R. S.

[1] Two specimens are given on Plate ix. Nos. 9 and 10.

[2] xiii. *Ant.* xvi. 5.

[3] *E.g.* Madden and Wellh., *Gesch.* 236 (=the Synedrion of Antioch or Alexandria).

[4] Nestle (*Z.A.T.W.*, 1895, 288 ff.; חבר=ἐθνος, ראש חבר=ἐθνάρχης). Schürer (269 f.) emphasises the analogy of 'the congregation of the Jews.'

Kennedy has suggested that it is the equivalent of the Greek τὸ κοινόν, in one of its meanings, as either the state as a whole, or its executive authorities, or a confederation.[1] As Schürer has pointed out, the increase of the prince's political interests and powers illustrates the gradual passage of his favour from the Pharisees, 'the party of the multitude,' to the Sadducean or aristocratic party.

Judas Aristobulus.

Engaged as we are with the history of the constitution, it is interesting to note that while Hyrcanus in his will nominated his eldest son, Judas Aristobulus, as High Priest, he left the whole of the government to his wife.[2] This novel experiment was not yet to be realised. Aristobulus starved his mother and became prince himself (104-103). He was the first of his dynasty to take the title of king, but not upon his coins, on which he is styled like his father High Priest, and associated with the 'Ḥeber.' The devices are a double cornucopia, poppy-head and wreath of laurel. As his father enforced the Law upon the Idumæans to the south, so he began to do with Galilee.[3]

Alexander Jannæus.

Alexander Jannæus (103-76 B.C.), besides issuing coins with a legend similar to those of his two predecessors, struck others, with the royal title[4] his grandfather had never used, and his father though using had not ventured to put on coins. The legend runs in Hebrew 'Jonathan the King,' in Greek 'Of King Alexander.' It was a natural gradation, especially in the growing weakness of the Seleucids. The incongruity lies rather in the other and more sacred title. There never

[1] Hastings' *D.B.* iii. 425. [2] Jos. xiii. *Ant.* xi. 1. [3] *H.G.H.L.* 414.

[4] יהונתן המלך, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ: anchor and flower and wheel: for coins of John and Jonathan, Pl. ix. 9, 10; of Judas, Madden, 82.

was a greater monstrosity among all the rulers of Israel than this brilliant drunkard, who at the same time was High Priest in Jerusalem. No wonder the people pelted him with citrons when he stood beside the altar on the Feast of Tabernacles.[1] He was constantly in controversy with the Pharisees, who at last kindled a rebellion against him; but in spite of their rapidly growing influence, he quelled it.

The experiment which the dead hand of Hyrcanus had failed to start was also bequeathed by Jannæus to his people, and this time it was carried out.[2] His widow, Alexandra, became Queen, his son Hyrcanus II., High Priest. They submitted themselves to the Pharisees, and under such influence the queen's reign (76-67) was prosperous and popular; but a certain balance of power between the factions was sustained by the adhesion of her second son, Aristobulus, to the Sadducees. She stamped at least small bronze coins with an anchor and the legend in Greek,[3] 'Queen Alexandra,' on the reverse a star or eight spokes of a wheel [4] with some Hebrew.

Queen Alexandra.

The history of the reign of Aristobulus II. (67-63), to whom his brother at first yielded both the dignities, is full of constitutional interest: the conflict between the two princes; the adoption of the cause of the weaker brother, the more pliable instrument, by the ambitious governor of Idumæa, the Idumæan Antipater, aided by many of the nobles; and when Pompey

Hyrcanus II. Aristobulus II.

[1] Jos. xiii. *Ant.* xiii. 5; 1 *B.J.* iv. 3.

[2] xiii. *Ant.* xvi. 1 ff.; i. *B.J.* v.

[3] Madden, 91 f., with specimen; Head, 682.

[4] So Macdonald, iii. 287, on a coin of Alex. Jannæus, on which there is the same device; pointing out that 'surely the heavenly bodies came under the ban of the Second Commandment, the influence of which is obvious in all early Jewish coins.' But see the stars on coins given by Madden, 96 f.

entered as judge into the quarrel, the appearance before him not only of the two claimants to the throne, but of 'the nation against them both; which did not desire to be ruled by kings, for what was handed down to them from their fathers was that they should obey the priests of the God they worshipped; but these two, though the descendants of priests, sought to transfer the nation to another form of government, that it might be enslaved.'[1]

7. Under the Romans: B.C. 63 onwards

After Pompey took the City (63 B.C.), the Romans, who in other towns dealt with the magistrates, senate and people,[2] delivered, along with authority to rule the Jewish people in their own affairs, all powers in Jerusalem itself to the High Priest Hyrcanus II. (63-40), who was later styled Ethnarch.[3] But they continued, or possibly reconstituted, a Senate or Council, with powers of life and death. That now after Pompey's and Cæsar's rearrangement of affairs we meet for the first time with the word *Synedrion* or *Sanhedrin*, as the name for the supreme Jewish court, is very significant. Josephus so styles the court in his account of the young Herod's narrow escape from its sentence of death in 47 or 46.[4] The name Synedria, as well as Synodoi, had already been given to the five districts, fiscal or judicial, into which Gabinius had divided the Jewish territory.[5] With all Palestine Judæa was placed under the Governor of the province of Syria, and obliged to pay tribute.[6]

Pompey's rearrangement. The Synedrion.

[1] xiv. *Ant.* iii. 2. [2] *e.g.* Sidon xiv., *Ant.* x. 2.

[3] xiv. *Ant.* iv. 4, 5, viii. 3, 5, ix. 2, x. 2-7, xii. 3 f. These powers were conferred by Pompey in 64, withdrawn by Gabinius, and restored by Cæsar in 47.

[4] *Ibid.* ix. 3-5. [5] *Ibid.* v. 4; 1 *B.J.* viii. 5.

[6] xiv. *Ant.* iv. 4, 5; 1 *B.J.* vii. 7. See Schürer, *Gesch.* i. 338 ff.

In 40 the Parthians having taken Jerusalem, deposed Hyrcanus, and appointed as King the son of Aristobulus II., Mattathiah or Antigonus, who styled himself on his coins High Priest and King (40-37).[1] Herod, who had been appointed Tetrarch by Mark Antony,[2] and (in 40) King by the Roman Senate,[3] took Jerusalem in 37 from Antigonus, who was executed.[4] From Herod's accession to power up to his death it ceases to be possible to talk of constitutional government in Jerusalem. He ruled by force, tempered by arbitrary pretences of justice,[5] by cajoling the mob,[6] by gifts of corn, of a theatre, a circus and a new Temple,[7] and by a general, though inconstant, respect to the prejudice of the citizens against statues.[8] His new towers and his palace dominated the City from its highest quarter ;[9] his soldiers in the castle commanded the courts and colonnades of the Temple.[10] He forbade public meetings, spread abroad his spies, skulked himself in disguise among the people,[11] and used his guards to torture and execute suspects in sight of their fellow-citizens.[12] The High Priests were his puppets, and he had begun his government by slaying most of the Sanhedrin.[13] He also enforced a severer law against housebreakers![14] His coins —only bronze, since he was the vassal of Rome—bear the

Herod's Arbitrary Government.

[1] The coins, of bronze, bear the earliest representation of the seven-branched candlestick, with a bare base, while that on the arch of Titus has griffins figured on it: Madden, 102 f. Cf. vii. *B.J.* v. 5.

[2] xiv. *Ant.* xiii. 1 ; 1 *B.J.* xii. 5.

[3] xiv. *Ant.* xiv. 4 f ; 1 *B.J.* xiv. 4.

[4] xiv. *Ant.* xvi. 1 ff. ; 1 *B.J.* xvii. 9 ; xviii. 1 ff.

[5] xv. *Ant.* vi. 2; vii. 4; xvii. *Ant.* v.

[6] xv. *Ant.* viii. 2 f., xi. 1; xvi. ii. 4, etc.

[7] *Ibid.* viii. 1, ix. 2, xi.

[8] *Ibid.* viii. 2, ix. 5, xvii. *Ant.* vi. 2.

[9] v. *B.J.* iv. 3.

[10] xv. *Ant.* xi. 4.

[11] *Ibid.* viii. 4, x. 4.

[12] viii. 4 ; xvi. *Ant.* x. 5.

[13] xiv. *Ant.* ix. 4, xv. *Ant.* i. 2 ff., iii. 1, ix. 3.

[14] xvi. *Ant.* i. 1.

DESCRIPTION OF COINS ON PLATE X.

1. Bronze Coin of Herod Archelaus, B.C. 4—A.D. 6 (rather than of Herod the Great). Bunch of grapes with legend ΗΡΩΔΟΥ; helmet with plumes and cheek-pieces. On other specimens of this type ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ is legible below the helmet, and the bunch of grapes does not occur on any known specimen of a coin of Herod the Great. See Madden (ed. 1903), 117, No. 8; Macdonald, iii. 288, No. 2.

2. Bronze Coin (Quadrans?) of a Roman Procurator under Augustus. An ear of wheat with legend ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC; a palm-tree with two bunches of dates; the date, stamped on the field on either side of the stem of the palm, is illegible, but the wheat ear is the same as that on coins of the Procurator Coponius, dated 8 A.D. Macdonald, iii. 292, No. 1; cf. Madden (ed. 1903), 174.

3. Bronze Coin (Quadrans?) of the Procurator Felix under Nero. Within a wreath of laurel ΝΕΡΩΝΟC; a palm-branch, and on either side LΣ ΚΑΙ-CΑΡΟC; date year 5=58-59 A.D. See Madden, 185; Macdonald, iii. 293.

4. Bronze Coin of Agrippa I. (41-44 A.D.). An umbrella with deep fringe with the legend from right down ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (only the first letters are legible); three ears of wheat, with date illegible.

5. Small Bronze Coin, uncertain; possibly a specimen of the λεπτόν or 'mite,' but more probably a coin of one of the towns of Palestine outside Judæa.

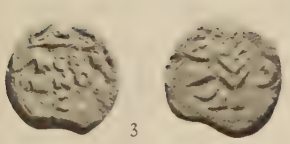
6, 7, 8. Three specimens of bronze coins struck in second year of the Jewish Revolt against Rome, 67-68 A.D. Vase with two handles and cover, legend from left down and then up right. שנת שתים=year 2 (on 6 the last letter *mim* is legible above the vase, and the first *shin*; on 7 the *shin* of שתים; and on 7 ים of שתים); vine-twig and leaf hanging down, legend from left down and up right חרות־ציין=freedom of Ṣion (on 6 only the *nun* is legible, on 7 and 8 חרות, and also on 8 ציי־. See Madden (ed. 1903), 206; Macdonald, iii. 293 f., Nos. 2 to 10.

9. Silver Shekel (Tetradrachm) of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome (132-135 A.D.). Representation of the Temple, legend from right up ירושלם =Jerusalem; a *lulab* with *ethrog* or citron-branch to left, legend from right up ישראל [ות] לחר שב=' Year 2 of the Freedom of Israel.' From the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow, Macdonald, iii. 295. Second Revolt, No. 1.—This coin bears no marks of being re-struck, as was all the silver coinage of the Second Revolt, but for a specimen of a quarter-shekel or drachm, on which traces of the original type are obvious, see Macdonald, iii. 296, No. 4, Pl. lxxviii. 16; and for a tetradrachm of Antioch, Kennedy, Pl. 20.

10. Bronze Coin of Second Revolt. Vine-leaf inverted, with legend from right up לחרות ישראל (only the ־י־רא־ of ישראל are legible on the left); palm-tree with bunches of dates; of the legend שמעון=Simon [Bar-Cochba] only the ש to right of the tree-stem and מ to the left are legible. See Madden (ed. 1903), 204, and Macdonald, iii. 296, for similar types.

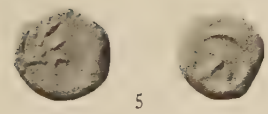
1

2



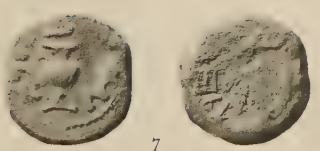
3

4



5

6



7

8

9

10

SPECIMENS OF COINS USED BY THE JEWS FROM HEROD ARCHELAUS TO THE SECOND REVOLT B.C 4—A.D. 135.

Nos. 1—8 and 10 from the Author's Collection.

No. 9 from the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow.

legend 'King Herod,' or simply 'King.' They bear only a Greek legend, like those of his successors.[1]

All this, sufficiently monstrous in itself, shows even more flagrant when contrasted with the state of affairs which followed, on the assumption of Judæa as a Roman province. The nightmare of Herod's tyranny falls upon the earliest chapters of our Lord's life; it is the authority of the Romans, with their respect for the native laws of their foreign subjects, which we feel through the rest of the New Testament. The few references of Josephus to the Sanhedrin under Herod expand to many in the Gospels and the Acts. Throughout these it is the chief Jewish court, their relation to the Roman Governor, their procedure, and the gradation of the inferior tribunals, which are in evidence. We have passed from the passions and caprices of a tyrant to the influence of settled institutions. If justice is still abused, the forms, at least, of the law are observed or taken for granted.

The difference in the New Testament.

In 6 A.D., when our Lord was a boy, and just before His visit with His parents to Jerusalem, Judæa was taken from Archelaus, the son of Herod, and constituted a Roman province with a governor of its own, of equestrian rank, called Procurator, but in the New Testament Governor, and subject, in cases of emergency, to the Legate of the Province of Syria.[2] The capital of the Province and usual residence of the governor was Cæsarea,[3] but for the great Jewish feasts he came up to Jerusalem. He was in command of

The Roman Province of Judæa.

[1] Madden, 105 ff.; for coin of Herod Archelaus see Pl. x. 1.

[2] See the full exposition by Schürer, *Hist.* (Eng. Transl.), div. i. vol. ii. 44 ff., 3rd Germ. ed. 454 ff. The Greek for Procurator is ἐπίτροπος, literally 'curator' or 'steward'; Governor, ἡγεμών, Lat. *praeses*. Josephus besides using these calls the governor ἔπαρχος, Praefectus. [3] See *H.G.H.L.* 141.

all the soldiers in the province, in charge of all the finance, and, while the lesser law was usually left to the native courts, he or his representative could interfere at any point of their procedure,[1] and he alone could render valid their sentences of death.[2] The coinage of the province was kept, of course, by the Romans in their own hands. We have coins of the Procurators from 6 to 41 A.D., when the province was given to Agrippa, and again from 44 to 66 A.D., the date of the beginning of the First Jewish revolt. They are all bronze with palms, palm-branches, ears of corn and laurel wreaths upon them, but no heads, out of respect to the Jewish feeling against images. The legends are in Greek; either the simple καισαρος under Augustus, or the name of the reigning Emperor, and once that of Julia Agrippina. Those struck by Augustus are dated in the years 33, 35, 36, 39, 40 and 41 of the Augustan era, which began 27 B.C., those by Tiberius bear dates from 1 to 18, that is from 14-15 A.D. to 31-32.[3]

High Priest and Sanhedrin.

Under such imperial authority the High Priest and Sanhedrin resumed that actual government of Jerusalem and the Jewish people, of which during Herod's reign they had enjoyed only the appearance. From 6 A.D. the Jewish 'Politeia' (says Josephus in his review of the history of the High-priesthood) 'became an Aristokrateia, and the High Priests were entrusted with the "Prostasia" or Presidency of the Nation,'[4] now a very limited distinction.

[1] See below, p. 420.

[2] An exception to this we shall see below, p. 424.

[3] De Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, 69 ff., Plates iii. f.; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, ch. vii.; Head, *Hist. Num.* 684; Macdonald, *Catalogue, etc.*, iii. 292. See Pl. x. 2, 3.

[4] xx. *Ant.* x. (§ 251). In iv. *Ant.* viii. 17, Josephus makes Moses say:—'Αριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον, καὶ ὁ κατ' αὐτὴν βίος.

The powers and procedure of the Sanhedrin[1] during this period of their guarantee by Rome are fully illustrated in the New Testament, Josephus, and several tractates of the *Mishna*. That the powers included authority over the local Synedria or Sanhedrins,[2] not only of Judæa, but of Galilee, Peræa, and even of Jewish settlements beyond is indisputable so far as the interpretation of the Law and similar abstract questions are concerned, and is extremely probable in regard to other judicial cases. Professor Schürer states that 'since the death of Herod the Great at least, the civil jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem was confined to Judæa proper,' Galilee and Peræa forming since that time independent spheres of administration.[3] But Galilee and Peræa continued to be under a Jewish tetrarch, who was on good terms with the native authorities of Jerusalem, and would be ready to carry out their wishes. It is significant that addressing Galileans our Lord made use of a metaphor which implied the subjection of their local courts to the Council or Synedrion;[4] and Luke tells us that Saul the Pharisee *asked of the High Priest letters to Damascus unto the synagogues, that if he found any that were of the Way, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem.*[5] This was not a civil case, but it involved civil penalties, and illustrates how difficult it is to draw the distinction which Dr. Schürer suggests. It is true that John's Gospel de-

The Area of their Jurisdiction.

[1] סַנְהֶדְרִין = *συνέδριον*, so often in N.T., also *πρεσβυτέριον*, Luke xxii. 66, Acts xxii. 5, *γερουσία* (v. 21); cf. *βουλή*, Jos. ii. *B.J.* xv. 6, *βουλευτής*, Mark xv. 43; *Mishna*, סנהדרין גדולה or בית דין הגדול.

[2] *Mishna*, 'Sanhedrin,' i. 5, x. 2, 4.: סנהדריות לשבטים. In iv. *Ant.* viii. 16, the local authorities of a city = *αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἡ γερουσία*; cf. *ibid.* 14, where the supreme court is curiously described as *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὁ προφήτης καὶ ἡ γερουσία*.

[3] Div. ii. vol. i. 162; cf. 185. [4] Matt. v. 21 ff. [5] Acts ix. 2.

scribes our Lord as withdrawing from Judæa to Galilee in order to avoid the designs of the Pharisees,[1] who by this time had great influence in the Sanhedrin. But this does not mean that the Sanhedrin 'had no judicial authority over Him so long as He remained in Galilee.'[2] For, according to Matthew, when *the Pharisees and scribes came from Jerusalem* to Him, and *were offended* at His answers, He *went out thence and withdrew into the parts of Tyre and Sidon*.[3] In Galilee the arm of the Sanhedrin might take longer to act than in Jerusalem —just as it might take longer to act in the remote Judæan village of *Ephraim, near the wilderness*, to which for the same reason, according to John, our Lord also once withdrew,[4]—but ultimately it could reach Galilee equally with the furthest borders of Judæa.

How the Sanhedrin haunted our Lord.

The influence of the Sanhedrin everywhere haunted our Lord and His little band of disciples. Just as Herod had spread abroad his spies and himself played the eavesdropper among the people, so they with this new prophet. A definite gradation is observable in their measures.[5] At first, according to all the Gospels, it was the popular and pervasive Pharisees who were startled by His influence, began to dog and question Him, and take counsel how they might destroy Him.[6] Then deputations of scribes, or of scribes and

[1] John iv. 1 ff.; vii. 1; cf. 45.

[2] Schürer as above, 185.

[3] Matt. xv. 1, 12, 21.

[4] John xi. 53 f.

[5] This in answer to Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, who in direct contradiction of the facts says, that 'the Gospels are fond of bringing on the stage from the very beginning the whole Sanhedrin' (*Eng. Tr.* v. 132).

[6] Matt. xii. 2, 14, 24 (*Pharisees*); 38 (*scribes and Phar.*); Mark ii. 24 (*Phar.*); 16 (*scr. and Phar.*); iii. 6 (*Phar. and Herodians*); Luke v. 17 (*Phar. and doctors of the Law*); 21, 30; vi. 7, 11 (*scr. and Phar.*); John ii. 18 (*the Jews*); iv. 1 (*Phar.*); vi. 41 ff. (*Jews*); vii. 32 (*Phar.*).

Pharisees, came down from Jerusalem with questions,[1] upon which, as fearing the power of the Sanhedrin even in Galilee, He withdrew to the Gentile territory of Tyre and Sidon.[2] From this point Matthew uses a more formal term for the questioning of the Pharisees: they *tried* or *tested* our Lord.[3] How aware He was of all the steps they would take in their graded procedure appears from His many allusions to them: first the hatred of one's own family; then the stirring up of the local courts, *when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into the next*;[4] the delivery to the provincial synedria with their prisons and tortures, and to the synagogues with their scourgings;[5] and in the ultimate background *governors and kings* with their powers of life and death.[6] That capital sentence lowered from the beginning: *be not afraid of them which kill the body*.[7] Nor was the great intermediate court out of sight. When at last our Lord felt the net about Him, and said to His disciples that He must go up to Jerusalem, the seat of the Sanhedrin, He described it by the names of its oldest and most executive members, *elders, chief priests and scribes*,[8] who *shall condemn Him to death and shall deliver Him unto the Gentiles* — an exact reflection of their regular procedure. *It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem*.[9]

[1] Matt. xv. 1; Mark iii. 22; vii. 1.

[2] Matt. xv. 21. See previous paragraph.

[3] πειράζω. Matt. xvi. 1; xix. 3; xxii. 18; Mark as early as viii. 11; Luke xi. 16; cf. John viii. 6.

[4] Matt. x. 21, 23; cf. xxiii. 34.

[5] x. 17: *torturers* (βασανισταί), even in the case of debt; xviii. 25, 34.

[6] x. 18.

[7] x. 28.

[8] xvi. 21; xix. 18; Mark x. 33.

[9] Luke xiii. 33.

But our immediate task is to learn the powers and procedure of the Sanhedrin within the City herself. Here there were really three forces for keeping order and dispensing justice: the supreme Sanhedrin, and the local courts under it;[1] the Priesthood charged with the watching and discipline of the Temple, but subject of course to the Sanhedrin's interpretation of the law relating to them; and when he was present, the Procurator, or in his absence the Chiliarch commanding the garrison, with five hundred to a thousand infantry and a cohort of cavalry.

Various Authorities in Jerusalem.

The scholarship of our time has been sharply divided over the question of the character and organisation of the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. Our information on the subject is derived, as has been said, from three sources: the Gospels, Josephus, and the Talmudic literature. The evidence of the last differs in many respects from that of the two former: the question is, which of them are we to trust? To cite only recent disputants, Jewish scholars like Zunz and Grätz accept the tradition of the Talmud that the Sanhedrin was presided over not by the High Priest, but by successive 'Pairs' of leaders, whose names it gives; and with them some Christian scholars like De Wette are in agreement. On the other side, Winer, Keil and Geiger have, in contradiction to the Talmud, asserted either the constant, or the usual, presidency of the High Priest; while Jost has defended an intermediate view that the Sanhedrin enjoyed its political rights only in theory, but was prevented from putting them into practice through the usurpation of

Recent Controversy on the Sanhedrin.

[1] For a tradition of these, see *Mishna*, 'Sanh.' x. 2.

them by the High Priests and others. Another question is, when was the Sanhedrin definitely constituted? But after our survey of the historical evidence we need not go into this. The whole subject has been admirably expounded and discussed by Kuenen in his essay on 'The Composition of the Sanhedrin.'[1] His results are hostile to the Talmudic account of the Sanhedrin, for he believes he has proved that a Sanhedrin of the type described or implied in the New Testament and Josephus, not only coincides with the Jewish form of government since Alexander the Great, but actually existed since the third century B.C., and that the modifications which it underwent before its collapse in 70 A.D. may be stated, if not with certainty, at least with great probability. Kuenen's conclusions were generally accepted till recently Dr. Adolf Büchler, in *The Synedrion in Jerusalem*, etc.,[2] offered an argument for the existence of two great tribunals in the Holy City, with separate authorities, religious and civil; and this view has been adopted by the *Jewish Encyclopædia* in its article 'Sanhedrin.'

The view, of which Kuenen was the chief exponent and which has been generally accepted, is that the Great Sanhedrin in Jerusalem was a single court, the supreme tribunal of the Jewish nation, which met usually in a hall in the southern part of the Temple enclosure known

[1] See Budde's German edition of Kuenen's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 49-81: 'Über die Zusammensetzung des Sanhedrin.' The previous literature I have referred to will all be found there with much more cited. Useful summaries on the same lines are given by Schürer (*Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*, etc.,[3] § 23 (*Eng. Trans.*, div. ii. vol. i. 163-195), with additional evidence; and in Robertson Smith's article 'Synedrion' in the *Ency. Brit.*[9]

[2] *Das Synedrion in Jerusalem und das Grosse Beth-Din in der Quaderkammer des Jerusalemischen Tempels.* Wien, 1902.

as the *Lishkath hag-Gāzîth* or Chamber of Hewn-Stone,[1] but which under stress of circumstances might also meet elsewhere.[2] There they interpreted the Law, and in criminal cases gave sentence. Their power over Jews was, subject to the Procurator's approval of their sentences of death, unlimited; and in certain cases they did not wait for references from the lower courts, but acted directly. According to the *Mishna* they alone could try a false prophet or an accused High Priest, or decide whether the king might make an offensive war; and Josephus adds that the king was to do nothing without the High Priest and the opinion of the Senators, and if he affected too much luxury, was to be restrained.[3] Also, they judged directly accused priests and other persons.[4] The *Mishna* adds that Jerusalem or the Temple Courts could not be extended without the consent of the Sanhedrin.[5] The number of the latter was seventy-one.[6]

Prevalent Conception of the Sanhedrin—a single supreme court.

This view of the Sanhedrin rests upon the evidence of the New Testament and Josephus, with illustrations from

[1] *Mishna*, 'Sanh.' x. 2; 'Middôth,' v. 3; the βουλή of Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 2. On the origin of the name and on the position of the place, see Schürer, Eng. Tr., div. ii. vol. i. 191.

[2] Whether the migration related in the *Talmud*, 'Shabbath,' 15*a* and elsewhere, that forty years before the destruction of the Temple the Sanhedrin sat in the bazaars, *ḥanuyôth*, be historical or not, it implies that the Sanhedrin could meet elsewhere than in the Temple Courts, unless by the *ḥanuyôth* we are to understand the merchants' booths in the outer court: see Schürer, p. 192.

[3] 'Sanhedrin,' i. 5; ii. 2, 4; Jos. iv. *Ant.* viii. 17. The directions of the *Mishna* may be partly, but cannot be 'purely theoretical' (so Schürer), as the witness of Josephus proves. Yet we learn that Agrippa removed and set up high priests (as Herod had done), Jos. xix. *Ant.* vi. 2, 4—whether after consulting the Sanhedrin is not stated.

[4] Besides 'Sanhedrin' as above, see 'Middôth,' v. 3.

[5] 'Sanhedrin,' i. 5; 'Shebuoth,' ii. 2; cf. Maimonides, *Beth hab-Bechereh*, vi. 10 f.

[6] 'Sanh.' i. 5 f.: above, p. 387 *n.* 3.

Talmudic literature, when this agrees with it; and with the rejection of the rest of the Talmudic evidence as late and unhistorical. Dr. Büchler, however, has made a fresh examination of the Talmudic evidence, and has come to the conclusion that there were two great Jewish tribunals at Jerusalem, possessing different powers: one with civil authority, the Sanhedrin of Josephus and the Gospels, one a Sanhedrin with purely religious functions.[1] The former, he thinks Josephus indicates, sat in the town, or on the west edge of the Temple mount.[2] The latter was entitled 'the great Beth-Din, which is in the Lishkath hag-Gāzîth,' or 'the great Sanhedrin, which sits in the Lishkath hag-Gazîth.'[3] This second tribunal had to decide on the purity of priests and other exclusively religious matters.[4] Neither Josephus nor the Gospels report of their Sanhedrin that it judged cases concerning priests, the temple-service, or any religious questions, but ascribe to it exclusively judicial processes, penal sentences, and perhaps cases of a political nature. With these the Talmud does not associate the 'Great Beth-Din in the *Lishkath hag-Gāzîth.*'[5] Dr. Büchler bases his theory on no meagre foundation of evidence; his argument is generally reasonable, and his conclusion that there were two supreme courts meets some difficulties, which are not removed by the view that there was only one. Still, the following considerations appear to me to be hostile to it. Neither in the Gospels nor in Josephus is there any proof of this duality in the supreme national authority. Had it

Büchler's View of two Sanhedrins.

[1] Büchler, 4. [2] *Ibid.* 33.
[3] *Mishna*, 'Sanhedrin,' x. 2; *Sifra*, 19*a*; Büchler, 34.
[4] Büchler, 33 ff. [5] *Ibid.* 36.

existed, the descriptions of the Jewish constitution by Josephus would certainly have contained some explicit notice of it; nor do the citations by Dr. Büchler from Josephus necessarily imply it.[1] Nor have we found any evidence of a second supreme court in our survey of the constitutional history previous to New Testament times. Nor does the Talmud itself afford an unambiguous statement that there were two courts—a curious phenomenon, which would certainly have articulated itself somewhere in that vast literature as it would in Josephus, had it actually existed. There is, too, the fundamental idea of the Jewish system that the civil and religious sides of life were not separate but everywhere interpenetrating, if not identical; and the impossibility, as we have seen, of deciding what matters were religious and what not. To these considerations may be added the fact, as Dr. Büchler admits, that the *Lishkath hag-Gāzîth* was so situated, on the southern edge of the inner court of the Temple but with a door into the outer court, that a body, partly consisting of laymen, might have gathered in it.[2] The solution of the problem may be in some such arrangement as we found[3] the Chronicler to record or suggest, whereby cases purely of the ceremonial law were decided by the priestly members of the Sanhedrin only. But in that case the High Priest would surely have presided; while in the Beth-Din, which Dr. Büchler takes as the supreme religious court, the Talmud says he did not preside!

The Sanhedrin and other courts had a certain number of officers to make arrests and execute their decrees—

[1] ii. *B.J.* xvii. 2-4; xx. *Ant.* ix. 6: Büchler, 36 f.
[2] Büchler, 19; cf. Maim., *Beth hab-Bechereh*, v. 17. [3] Above, p. 387 f.

'hyperetai,' as the Gospels call them, *constables* or *bailiffs*,[1] and *servants of the High Priest*,[2] whom Josephus describes as enlisted 'from the rudest and most restless characters' both by the High Priests for the collection of tithes, and by the leaders of factions, 'the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem.'[3] There were in every town town-officers; *watchmen*, *head of the watch*, and *bailiff*;[4] those of Jerusalem may be included under the general expression Hyperetai. Josephus speaks of the 'public whip,' probably in charge of a special officer.[5] Matthew even mentions *torturers*.[6] *Suborned spies* are spoken of by Luke, one of the several features which he alone introduces to the Gospel narrative.[7] That the *public ward* or *prison* at the disposal of the Sanhedrin[8] was in the town and not in the Temple is implied both by the adjective and by the other details of the story. But besides all these, their own agents and resources, the Sanhedrin could enlist those of the Temple as well.

The Servants and Instruments of the Sanhedrin.

The Temple discipline is fully set forth in the *Mishna*. Here we are concerned only with that part of it which may be called the Police, and had to do with the watching of the Courts and the control of the crowds who filled them. Josephus and the Book of

The Temple Guards.

[1] Matt. v. 25. In Luke xii. 58 called *πράκτωρ*, *exactor*, collector of debts, and probably also of tithes.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 51; Mark xiv. 47; John xviii. 10.

[3] Jos. xx. *Ant.* viii. 8, ix. 2.

[4] רֵישׁ מַטְרְתָּא, נָטוֹרָא and סַנְטְרָא (prob. *σημαντήρ*). See Levy, *Neuheb. u. Chal. Wörterbuch*, under מַטְרָא.

[5] *τῷ δημοσίῳ σκύτει*, iv. *Ant.* viii. 21.

[6] Matt. xviii. 34.

[7] Luke xx. 20; cf. Jos. xv. *Ant.* viii. 4.

[8] Acts iv. 3; v. 18 ff. It is the hyperetai of the Sanhedrin who go to the prison for the apostles: the captain of the Temple acts only later.

Acts mention a Stratēgos, or Captain of the Temple,[1] who appears to have belonged to one of the chief priestly families, and has been reasonably identified with the *Sĕgān*, who in rank was next to the High Priest himself.[2] With him were other *Segānîm* or *Stratēgoi*.[3] The *Mishna* mentions two officials: the 'Man of the Mountain of the House,' and the 'Man of the Bîrah' or Temple proper.[4] It was the duty of the former to go round the night guards and watches, and see that none was asleep. Priests kept watch at the inner posts, in three 'houses' or rooms (in one of which, 'the house Moked,' slept the keepers of the keys of the court); and Levites at twenty-one posts: ten gates, eight corners, the chambers of the offerings and the veil, and behind the house of atonement.[5] Thus by night the Temple was entirely closed and carefully watched. By day a still greater number of guards were on duty to watch the gates and keep order in the courts.[6] They had to see that no foreigner passed the fence which divided the inner court from that of the Gentiles; they could immediately put to death even Roman citizens who transgressed this rule, plainly inscribed on the fence in Greek and Latin.[7] One of the several copies of this

[1] *στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, Jos. vi. *B.J.* v. 3 (294); Acts iv. 1, v. 26; but *στρατηγῶν*, xx. *Ant.* ix. 3; ii. *B.J.* xvii. 2; cf. 2 Macc. iii. 4, *προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ καθεσταμένος*; 1 Chron. ix. 11; 2 Chron. xxxi. 13, נגיד בית האלהים; LXX. *ὁ ἡγούμενος οἴκου θεοῦ*. In Jer. xx. 1, Pashhur is described as פקיד נגיד בבית יהוה, and as a priest.

[2] Schürer, ii. i. 257 f. [3] 'Bikkurim,' iii. 3; Luke xxii. 4, 52.

[4] איש הר הבית, 'Middoth,' i. 2, etc. איש הבירה, 'Orla,' ii. 12. Schürer, p. 267, argues that the latter was the Stratēgos of the Temple, the former a captain who had charge of the outer court; but in *Jer. Talm.* 'Pes.' vii. 38*a*, בירה=כל הר הבית.

[5] *Mishna*, 'Middoth,' i. 1-9; 'Tamid,' i. 1; cf. Jos. iv. *B.J.* iv. 6; vi. *B.J.* v. 3, etc.: *οἱ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φύλακες*.

[6] Philo, *De Praemiis Sacerdotum*, vi.

[7] Acts xxi. 28; Jos. xv. *Ant.* xi. 5; v. *B.J.* v. 2; vi. *B.J.* ii. 4; *Con. Apion.* ii. 8 f.; *Mishna*, 'Middoth,' ii. 3.

inscription, in monumental characters, has been discovered :—[1]

ΜΗΘΕΝΑ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ ΕΙΣΠΟ
ΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΕ
ΡΙ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥ ΟΣΔ' ΑΝ ΛΗ
ΦΘΗ ΕΑΥΤΩΙ ΑΙΤΙΟΣ ΕΣ
ΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ
ΘΕΙΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ.

'No foreigner is to enter within the railing and enclosure round the Temple. Whoever is caught will be responsible to himself for his death which will ensue.'

We have seen that, under the Strategoi of the Temple, it was the Priests and Levites who attended to the duties of the watch. Josephus says it required twenty men to shut the 'eastern gate of the inner shrine (?), which was of brass,'[2] and two hundred to close 'the doors of the shrine, which were all overlaid with gold, and almost entirely of beaten gold';[3] but his words are large, and it is difficult to see how so many as two hundred men could be effectively employed upon twenty cubits, the breadth he gives to the doors. There were besides many lay servants for the outer gates and courts, and for service abroad.[4]

[1] By M. Clermont-Ganneau in 1871, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1871, 132. *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerusalem,' 423 f.

[2] vi. *B.J.* v. 3.

[3] *C. Apion.* ii. 10. Hudson reads *twenty* for *two hundred.*

[4] Acts v. 26 : ὁ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις.

But as the Temple was 'a Keep overhanging the City, so was Antonia to the Temple.'[1] This fortress stood on a rock some seventy-five feet high at the north-west corner of the Temple enclosure, to the cloisters of which its garrison descended by two gangways or flights of stairs, and 'taking up position in open order round the colonnades, they kept guard over the people at the Feasts, so that no revolt might take place.'[2] Luke calls the commander of these troops by his regimental rank Chiliarch, but Josephus, Phrouriarch or commander of the garrison.[3] That they garrisoned other towers in Jerusalem and so acted as the City police, is both likely in itself and affirmed by Josephus,[4] and that some of them assisted in the arrest of our Lord on Olivet would not be surprising. But John's Gospel says that Judas received the *Speira* as well as the officers of the chief priests[5]—*Speira* being in the Book of Acts[6] the whole cohort, but in Polybius a *manipulus* or two centuries—and adds that the *Chiliarch* himself was present. No other Gospel includes Roman soldiers among the band which arrested Jesus.

Antonia and the Roman Garrison.

[1] Jos. v. *B.J.* v. 8; cf. xv. *Ant.* xi. 4, where he calls it an ἀκρόπολις, but says that the Kings of the Hasmonean family and the High Priests, who had built it before Herod, called it Baris, *i.e.* בִּירָה, *Castle*. In xviii. *Ant.* iv. 3 he attributes it to Hyrcanus. In the Book of Acts (*e.g.* xxi. 34, 37) it is called παρεμβολή, which Polybius uses both of an army drawn up for battle, and of a camp, like στρατόπεδον. Cf. xv. *Ant.* vii. 8: fortified places were two, one to the City itself, the other to the Temple.

[2] Jos. v. *B.J.* v. 8: the whole chapter is on the Antonia. Josephus calls the gangways or stairs κατάβασεις. In Acts xxi. 40 they are called ἀναβαθμοί.

[3] Acts xxi., etc.; xv. *Ant.* xi. 4; xviii. *Ant.* iv. 3.

[4] That only part of the Jerusalem garrison was usually in Antonia is expressly stated by Josephus, xx. *Ant.* v. 3. Some, no doubt, were in Herod's palace and towers, and the cavalry cohort may have had their barracks outside the walls.

[5] John xviii. 3.

[6] x. 1.

The administration of Judæa by Procurators was interrupted in 41 A.D., when Herod Agrippa I., who had already received from Caligula, in 37 and 40, the tetrarchies of Philip, Lysanias and Herod Antipas, with the title of King, was further endowed by Claudius with Judæa and Samaria; and thus entered upon the full domains of his grandfather, Herod the Great.[1] A repaired profligate, Agrippa reigned three years: benevolent and magnanimous, loyal, in act at least, to Rome, favourable to the Pharisees, sedulous in worship, and enjoying an almost unmixed popularity. His coins are of two kinds. On some, for use in Jerusalem, there is the plain title 'King Agrippa,' with an umbrella and three wheat ears.[2] Others, for circulation in the maritime cities and elsewhere, bear his own image or that of Claudius, with the title 'Great King,' and with epithets expressive of his devotion to Rome.[3] Josephus estimates his annual revenues at twelve millions of drachmæ, about £475,000, but adds that he was often compelled to borrow; his expenses were enormous. He had his own military force, commanded by Silas, the companion of his earlier misfortunes and extravagance. Other events of constitutional interest were his appointment of High Priests; his persecution of the Christians;

Herod Agrippa I.

[1] Agrippa (so on his coins and in Josephus) is called Herod in Acts xii. He was the son of Aristobulus, son of Herod the Great.

[2] See Plate X. No. 4: the legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ runs from right of the umbrella downwards; such are mostly of the year 6, reckoning from 37 A.D. On the coins of Agrippa see Madden (ed. 1903) 129 ff.; Reinach, *Jewish Coins* (E.T.), 34 ff.; and compare Schürer's note, § 18 *n.* 41.

[3] Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀγρίππας φιλόκαισαρ, to which certain inscriptions add εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλορώμαιος. Another type of coin (or perhaps medal) has on one side 'King Agrippa, friend of Cæsar,' on the other 'Friendship and alliance of King Agrippa with the Senate and the People of Rome.'

his policy against certain citizens of Doris who brought a statue of Cæsar into a Jewish synagogue, and the consequent decree for their punishment by Petronius the Legate of Syria;[1] his building of the Third Wall of Jerusalem,[2] stopped by Claudius on the report of Marsus the successor of Petronius; and his attempt to hold at Tiberias a conference of the Asiatic vassals of Rome, which was suspected and frustrated by the same Marsus. The accounts of Agrippa's sudden death, given by Luke and Josephus, agree in their essential features. It happened at Cæsarea, where he appeared before a great multitude in a splendid robe, and was acclaimed as divine. Josephus adds certain details calculated to win our admiration for the stoicism of the smitten monarch.[3]

Return of the Procurators.

When the news reached Rome, Claudius was inclined to bestow the kingdom on Agrippa's son of the same name, but was dissuaded by his counsellors on account of the latter's youth; and Palestine was resumed into the direct administration of the Emperor, with a Procurator over it, as Judæa and Samaria had been governed from B.C. 6 to 41. According to Josephus, the first two of the new series of Procurators, Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander (44-48), by a scrupulous respect for the Jewish laws, kept the nation tranquil. There followed the unfortunate and blundering govern-

[1] This contains, as reported by Josephus, these phrases: 'It is but a part of natural justice that all should have authority over the places belonging to themselves; both I and King Agrippa, whom I hold in the highest honour, have nothing more in our care than that the Jewish nation may have no occasion for getting together . . . and becoming tumultuous.'

[2] See above, p. 244.

[3] Acts xii.; Jos. xix. *Ant.* iv.-viii.; ii. *B.J.* xi.

ment of Cumanus (48-52); the tyranny of Felix (52-60); the brief improvements of Festus, terminated by his death in 62; the venal and hypocritical administration of Albinus (62-64); and the exasperating cruelties of Gessius Florus (64-66), which, executed in open and unashamed alliance with the most turbulent of 'the Robbers,' estranged from Rome many of the hitherto patient Jews and provoked the War of Independence (66-70).[1]

We have seen that the Procurators from 6 to 41 A.D. issued bronze coins.[2] This was also done by those from 44 to 66, who likewise avoided types offensive to the Jewish conscience.[3] These Procuratorial bronzes are 'apparently all of one denomination, the quadrans (?),'[4] the kodrantēs of the Gospels. The *quadrans* was the fourth part of the *as* or *assarion*;[5] or about five-eighths of a farthing of our money, and was double the *lepton* or *mite* of the Gospels.[6] Silver coins in circulation under the Procurators and mentioned in the Gospels were: the Tyrian *staters* or *tetradrachms*, the usual tender in payment of the Temple-tax, of which one being equal to a shekel paid the tax for two persons,

Procuratorial and other coinage in N.T. times.

[1] Jos. xx. *Ant.* i.-ix., xi.; ii. *B.J.* xi.-xvii.

[2] Above, p. 414.

[3] See Plate x. No. 3 for a coin of Felix with Nero's name on one side and on the other LE KAICAPOC and a palm-branch. Year 5=59 A.D.

[4] Kennedy, 'Money,' Hastings' *D.B.* iii. 428; 'they may be termed *quadrantes*': Reinach, *Jew. Coins*, 41 *n.* i. Κοδράντης, Matt. v. 26; Mk. xii. 42. E.V. *farthing*: known popularly by the name of its tariff equivalent, Chalkos, *copper*.

[5] ἀσσάριον, E.V. *farthing*, Amer. Rev. more properly *penny*; Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6. Kennedy argues that there were two values of the *assarion*, 'the tariff' as above—the אִיסַר אִיטַלְקִי of the *Mishna*—and the 'current' of half that amount. He spells it אִסַּר, issar.

[6] λεπτόν, Luke xii. 59, xxi. 2; Mk. xii. 42.

as, for example, our Lord and Peter;[1] the Græco-Roman *tetradrachms* of Antioch; some, but comparatively few, *didrachms*;[2] *drachms*, which were very numerous, and their Roman equivalents the *denarii*. It was a *denarius* with *the image and superscription of Cæsar*, which the Pharisees and Herodians, the parties respectively of the theocracy and the Idumean dynasty, brought to our Lord when they asked Him *if it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar*, and He replied *show Me the tribute money*.[3] The value of the *denarius* in our money was 9½d.: a fair day's wage for a labourer.[4] For commercial purposes the *drachm*[5] bore the same value, but for tariff purposes was fixed at three-fourths of the *denarius*.[6] In the New Testament silver is money *par excellence*; it is significant that gold coins are hardly mentioned.[7] The weight of the Roman *aureus* varied from 19s. 6d. under Augustus to 18s. 8d. of our money under Nero. It is the gold dinar of the Talmud, the 'gold-piece' of Josephus.[8]

Herod of Chalcis.

In A.D. 44, on the death of Agrippa I., his brother Herod of Chalcis obtained from Claudius authority over the Temple, the sacred treasure and the appointment of the High Priests.[9] He died in 48,

[1] *στάτηρ*, Matt. xvii. 27; Rev. Vers. shekel. See above, p. 405, Pl. ix.

[2] *τὰ δίδραχμα*, Matt. xvii. 24, *tribute-money*, *i.e.* Temple-tax = half shekel: so rightly in the Rev. Ver. See above, p. 359 *n.* 5.

[3] Ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου. Οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον. Matt. xxii. 15 ff. The *Penny* of E.V. is of course inadequate. The American revisers more happily suggest *shilling*. The *denarius* is in Greek δηνάριον, in the *Mishna* דִּינָר.

[4] Matt. xx. 2 ff.; Kennedy, pp. 427 f. 432.

[5] Luke xv. 8, *piece of silver*; also probably in Acts xix. 19.

[6] Kennedy, 428; Reinach (39) says 'the d. had been made equivalent to the Attic drachm.'

[7] Matt. x. 9.

[8] *Talm. Jer.*, 'Kidd.' I. 58^d ob.; v. *B.J.* xiii. 4. For the whole of the above paragraph I have consulted Madden, Reinach, Kennedy and Macdonald.

[9] Jos. xx. *Ant.* i. 3.

and was succeeded in all these powers by his nephew Agrippa II. Resigning Chalcis in 53, this great-grandson of Herod the Great received what had been the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, and later from Nero part of Galilee, including Tiberias and Taricheae.[1] The difference of five years between his accession to his first and that to his second and greater dignity may be the explanation of a double date upon an inscription at es-Ṣanamein in Ḥauran: 'in the 37th which was also the 32nd year of King Agrippa'; but some are inclined to read this rather of two other eras beginning in 56 and 61 respectively.[2] More Roman than any of his predecessors, Agrippa II. issued coins which do not conform to the Jewish law against images. They display his own head or that of one of the Emperors on whom this last of the Herodian dynasty, with all the astuteness but none of the strength of his fathers, fawned up to his death about 95.[3] Even before he became King he exerted his influence at Rome on behalf of his countrymen, by securing to them the guardianship of the sacred vestments and by persuading Claudius to punish Cumanus. Down to 66 A.D. Agrippa II. continued to depose and appoint the High Priests.[4]

Agrippa II.

The Revolt of the Jews against Rome was undoubtedly

[1] Josh. xx. *Ant.* vii. f.

[2] Copied by me in 1901 and described (with a different explanation of the two eras, as if from 44 and 48 or 49) in the *Critical Review*, ii. 56 (previously recorded in *Z.D.P.V.* vii. (1884), 121 f.; cf. *P.E.F.Q.*, 1895, 58). For the other explanation see Schürer, *Gesch.*, 3rd ed., § 19, Anhang, *n.* 7; Macdonald, *Catalogue of Gr. Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, iii. 290; Reinach, *Jewish Coins*, 37 *n.* 2.

[3] That is the last year found on any of the coins, the year 35, if we take 61 as the era (see above, *n.* 2). Photius says he lived to 100 A.D.

[4] Jos. xx. *Ant.* i. viii. ff.

The Government of Jerusalem during the War, 66-70 A.D.

a revolt of the People, stirred indeed by individuals of the ruling class, but yet in opposition to the main influences of the latter, which were often but vainly exercised in the interests of peace. When Florus withdrew from Jerusalem, he left the City in charge of the chief priests and Sanhedrin with a cohort to support them.[1] 'The multitude' professed allegiance to Rome in one Assembly called by Neopolitanus, an emissary from the Legate Cestius, and in another under Agrippa;[2] but they refused to obey Florus, and on the incitement of Eleazar, the Temple-Strategos and son to the High Priest, they discontinued the daily sacrifice for the Emperor.[3] 'Influential persons'[4] in conference with chief-priests and notable Pharisees tried to dissuade them, tried then to hold against them the Upper City; but, reinforced by Sicarii, 'the seditious' overpowered the whole of Jerusalem. A few months later, in the flush of their victory over Cestius, they organised a government. A number of 'the most eminent men' had already deserted the City, but it was from those who remained that a popular assembly elected two governors for Jerusalem, as well as generals for the provinces. Josephus,[5] who was appointed to Galilee, declared that he took his authority from 'the commonwealth of the people of Jerusalem' and from the Sanhedrin;[6] and it was the High Priest, acting, however, under compulsion from the zealots, and as many of the influential men as were not of the Roman party, who organised the defence of the City.[7] After the Romans

[1] Jos. ii. *B.J.* xv. 6.
[2] *Ibid.* xvi.
[3] *Ibid.* xvii. 2.
[4] Οἱ δυνατοί; ii. *B.J.* xvii. 3-6.
[5] *Ibid.* xx. 3, 4.
[6] *Vita*, 12, 13.
[7] ii. *B.J.* xxii. 1.

had subdued Galilee in 67, the defeated patriots who escaped him thronged to Jerusalem, to inflame her zeal but to dissipate her strength by the factions which they formed.[1] Their seizure and abuse of the Sanctuary, their outrageous appointments to the High-Priesthood, roused 'the People,' 'the Multitude,' against them, and, with the help of these, two chief priests, Ananias and Jeshua, seemed likely to gain the mastery. They were defeated by the treachery of John and the introduction of the Idumeans.[2] With some brief pretence of the forms of justice, assemblies and other courts, the Zealots started a reign of terror, destroying many of the chief men and other citizens. Then 'John began to tyrannise,'[3] and prevailed in the City till the return in April 69 of Simon Bar-Giora from those raids which Vespasian's delay permitted him to make through the south of Judah.[4] Finally, Jerusalem was divided into three hostile camps, or rather fortresses, of which Simon held the Upper City and a great part of the Lower, John the Temple Mount, and Eleazar, whose party had separated from John, the Inner Court of the Temple. So violently at last did the constitution of Jerusalem break up, at the very hour at which Titus with his legions appeared before the walls, April 70.

In addition to the precious metals stored in the Temple, a great amount of treasure fell to the Jews on their defeat of Cestius in 66, and their authorities coined money down to the end. Some of their bronze coins, uniform in weight and type, are still extant, dated from the second and third

Coins of the First Revolt, B.C. 66-70;

[1] iv. *B.J.* iii.
[2] *Ibid.* iv. f.
[3] *Ibid.* vii. 1.
[4] *Ibid.* ix.

years of the Revolt, with the legend 'Freedom of Sion.'[1] Even in the fourth year, and after the siege had commenced, they continued to issue money. But their silver and copper, if not their gold, had run low, and the coins of this issue in bronze had merely nominal values attached to them—'in fact the equivalent of modern paper money offered by bankrupt states.'[2] They bore a legend rather more intense than that of the earlier years: 'For the Redemption of Sion, year 4.' A number of other coins which used to be attributed to this Revolt[3] are now generally ascribed to the Second Revolt, 132-135 A.D.

and of the Second, A.D. 132-135.

During this the Jews, possessing little or no treasure, used the silver denarii and Imperial tetradrachms, re-striking them with orthodox Jewish types: vases, palm-branches, citrons, bunches of grapes and trumpets. Bar-cochba's denarii have the legend 'Simon, year 2 of the Freedom of Israel,' his shekels[4] the same (sometimes with 'Jerusalem' substituted for Simon), and 'Year 1 of the Redemption of Israel' with a representation of the Temple and often above it a star in allusion to his name. One denarius carries on one side a vase and palm, on the other a bunch of grapes with the legends 'Eleazar the Priest' and 'Year 1 of the Redemption of Israel.' Others have on one side Eleazar's, on the other Simon's die. From this Revolt there are also bronze coins, which exhibit similar types and legends.[5]

[1] See Pl. x., Nos. 6, 7 and 8, for coins of the second and third year.
[2] Reinach.
[3] See Madden, 198 ff.
[4] See Plate x. No. 9.
[5] See Plate x. No. 10.

CHAPTER X

'THE MULTITUDE'

THROUGHOUT the political history, which we have followed in the previous chapter, we have observed the constant, often the dominant, influence exercised by the common people; either through an assembly of their representatives or by a revolt in mass. Our English version of the Gospels and the Acts designates them as *the multitude*, thus translating two Greek terms: ὁ ὄχλος, *the crowd* or *mob*, and τὸ πλῆθος, *the masses, the body and bulk of the nation.* To realise the political atmosphere of Jerusalem it is not enough to be aware of this restless, ominous background to her great personalities and parties. We must attempt a distinct appreciation of the power of the people, from which every form of the constitution originally derived its authority; to which prophets and tyrants alike appealed; and the influence and methods of which were especially significant in the times of Herod, of our Lord, and of the revolt against Rome.

Meaning of the term.

Although during this last period the constitution of Israel betrays the influence of those Greek and Græcised communities of which Palestine had long been full,[1] it

[1] See above, pp. 395 f.

would be a grave error to ascribe to Hellenism any large degree of the Jewish consciousness of the rights and powers of the people. In fact, the Greeks ruled Asia as much by conquest as by culture; and it was not in imitation of their civic institutions, but against the forms of despotism which they developed, that Israel under the Maccabees evinced to the world the vigour and the conscience of her democracy. Of these the Semitic ancestry and the religion of the nation were the original and the most copious sources.

Sources of democracy in Israel.

The primitive Semitic tribe was as democratic a society as existed in the ancient world. A blood-brotherhood with an economy mainly communal; its chief but a *primus inter pares*, dependent on the counsel and goodwill of his fellow-tribesmen—under such conditions a tyranny is hardly conceivable. In the camps of the nomads there are neither police, guards, nor a citadel. Behind the sheikh's authority there is nothing but the force of public opinion; to influence the individual nothing but 'shame,' as one has expressed it, 'before the face of his kin.'[1] The effects of so free a discipline, operative perhaps for millennia, before the ancestors of Israel appear in history, were bound to endure in the national temper, and in fact are precipitated in many of the written laws. Even in the rude days of the Judges there was a public conscience among the tribes, and outrages were stamped as *wantonness* or *folly in Israel*.[2] The local courts and national assemblies sanctioned by the

(1) Racial;

[1] Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste des arab. Heidentums*; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 60, etc.; G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, ch. ii.

[2] Ju. xx. 6, 10, etc.

Law are probably among its most primitive institutions, the equivalents among a people settled to agriculture of the daily conferences of nomads before the tent of their sheikh. When a monarchy was established in Israel it was in answer to the desire of the people. The crown was offered to David through their representatives; and the movement which constituted the ten tribes into a separate kingdom was a popular revolt. The government of Jerusalem herself was directly royal, but for that (as we have seen [1]) there were reasons; and even so it was the people of Jerusalem who more than once determined the succession to the throne of Judah.

In the same direction, if with a different character, conspired the influences of religion. The prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries, inconceivable except in a large and free public life, at once rose from and appealed to the people. It is true that while some of the merely professional members of this class were the servile flatterers of the court, others, almost as basely, were demagogues with no higher ideals than those of a vulgar and unethical patriotism. But the true prophets, who spoke in the name of a God exalted in righteousness, equally aimed at the people; and in their indictments of unjust rulers and the vices of the crowd, relied upon the existence of a public conscience. They rewakened the people's memory of their divinely guided history, the people's instincts of justice and of duty; addressing them in the mass and setting before them the ideal of a nation wholly devoted to righteousness. While he insisted upon the need of just and strong princes,

(2) Religious.

[1] Above, pp. 377 ff.

Isaiah equally emphasised the necessity among ordinary citizens of character and the power to discriminate character. The prophets had no programme of political rights. But in their protests against the policy or the character of the rulers and in the confidence with which they appealed to their fellow-citizens upon the righteousness of their message, they illustrated at once the duty of the individual conscience to assert itself, and the example of reliance upon the soundness of popular opinion when the leaders of the nation have gone astray. Nor could the prophets enforce as they did the legal and economic rights of the poor, without exciting in the latter some sense of their political power as well. In one direction their energy operated powerfully towards democracy, and may be illustrated by a similar movement in Western society. M. Fustel de Coulanges[1] has remarked that with the rise of the *plebs* to power in Greece and in Rome a new dogma appeared in politics. Loyalty to the national ritual, and to tradition in general, was replaced by 'the public interest,' from which there followed, of course, the necessity of popular discussion and national suffrage. The Hebrew prophets were also hostile to ritual, and equally they gave to Israel in its place a dogma of 'the public interest': ethical service, the discharge of justice and the ministry of the poor. These, instead of sacrifices and rites, they proclaimed as the demands of God upon His people. In the following century the provisions of Deuteronomy for the expression of public opinion, with its emphasis upon domestic religion and education, and above all, the individualism which Jeremiah and Ezekiel developed in the national religion, were strong factors in

[1] *La Cité Antique*, 19th ed., 376 f.

the same direction. Throughout the course of history nothing has contributed more powerfully to the political enfranchisement of the masses than such conviction as the prophets express of the common man's immediate relation to God: *they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying Know the Lord, for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord.*

The Debt of the Peoples to Jerusalem.

It was with reason, therefore, that the pioneers of democracy in Europe appealed for their principles and sought their precedents rather in the Old Testament than in the New (which does not concern itself with the liberties of a nation), and chiefly in the history of Israel under the Kings.[1] The pilgrim to Jerusalem from the free communities of the West, as he contemplates the few remains of her ancient walls or treads the great platform on which in face of their Temple her people once gathered to listen to their prophets, and make covenant with their God, cannot but be stirred by emotions even deeper and more grateful than those aroused upon the Areopagus or among the ruins of the Forum. The student of the prophets, as he realises their equal insistence upon the Word of God, upon the need of strong and just rulers, upon the religious and economic rights of every common citizen, and upon the substitution for confidence in ritual of the ethical service of men, must recognise principles, of which all social philosophies and systems since constructed present only the fragments and details.

[1] Cf. the author's *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, 260 ff.

For that the leaders took the lead in Israel,
For that the people offered themselves willingly,
Praise ye the Lord.

The Power of the People under Nehemiah

In the reconstitution of Israel after the Exile we trace the working of these same forces: the influence of the Divine Word, the justice and energy of heroic personalities, the consent and participation not of the heads of families alone, but of every adult in the community: *all the men of Judah and Benjamin, the children of Israel assembled, all who had separated themselves from the peoples of the land unto the Law of God, their wives, sons and daughters, every one having knowledge and understanding.*[1] This covenant of the whole people, upon which Israel was freshly built, was never forgotten; the *Assembly* or *Congregation*[2] remained a Jewish institution to the end. For the period from Nehemiah to the Maccabees we have little evidence,

and under the High Priests.

but such as exists shows us *the multitude* in *assembly*; sometimes in consultation with the High Priest and his immediate council,[3] sometimes, when he abused his civil power, assuming this to themselves. The Pseudo-Aristeas makes the High Priest write to Ptolemy that he had convened 'the whole body of the people'[4] to hear the request for scribes learned in the law and to select such as should be sent. And Josephus narrates that when the High Priest Onias endangered the commonwealth by withholding the national tribute to Ptolemy Euergetes, B.C. 246-221, Joseph

[1] See above, p. 383: on the popular power a few years before this under Haggai and Zechariah, p. 381.

[2] קָהָל, ἐκκλησία or συναγωγή.

[3] See above, pp. 383, 386, 397, 401.

[4] τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος: see above, pp. 390 f.

son of Tobias went into the Temple and 'called together the multitude to an Assembly,'[1] who took the financial responsibilities of their ruler upon themselves and sent ambassadors of their own to their Greek suzerain. And this reminds us that while the High Priests and the ruling families farmed the taxes of the nation and used other opportunities of finance to their own profit and power, there were in these last the occasions also of the common citizen, and the origins of fortunes outside the oligarchy.[2] The increase of commerce, consequent on the wide Diaspora of the Jews, did not fail to work to the same result. For further evidence of the popular power in the Greek period, and especially in the growing influence of the scribes, see what has been said above on the political temper and atmosphere of Ecclesiasticus.[3]

We have seen how, when the Nation was ruined by Antiochus Epiphanes and the Sanctuary desecrated, *the Congregation gathered for battle and for prayer*; and how the Maccabees reconstituted Israel from the conscience and energy of the common people.[4] It was these who gave the High-Priesthood to Jonathan,[5] it was *the multitude* who approved of his proposals to rebuild the wall and appointed Simon his successor,[6] and it was a convocation of priests, people, rulers and elders who invested Simon with absolute power.[7]

Under the Maccabees

Under the Hasmonean kings the Pharisees were the party trusted by 'the multitude';[8] the nation rose against

[1] Jos. xii. *Ant.* iv. 2: *συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.*
[2] See above, pp. 368, 399.
[3] Above, pp. 391 f.
[4] See above, pp. 400 f.
[5] Jos. xii. *Ant.* x. 6.
[6] *Ibid.* xiii. v. 11, vi. 3: *τὸ πλῆθος.*
[7] See above, p. 404.
[8] xiv. *Ant.* xv. 5: cf. xiii. *Ant.* xi. 6; xiii. *Ant.* xiii. 5, *τὸ ἔθνος.*

Alexander Jannæus; and appeared through ambassadors before Pompey to oppose both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, rivals for the throne.[1] Aristobulus mutilated Hyrcanus, from fear that 'the multitude might make him king.'[2]

and Hasmonean kings.

But the instances which most distinctly illustrate the meaning of the New Testament *multitude* are those described by Josephus in his histories of Herod the Great and of Archelaus. Josephus applies the words ὄχλος and ὄχλοι, *crowd* and *crowds*, to any throng of the people at the religious feasts, games or spectacles;[3] but also to their gatherings for armed revolt,[4] to the mass of an army,[5] and even to the populace as a whole.[6] In the same general meanings he sometimes employs τὸ πλῆθος,[7] but at others uses this term in a more formal sense—the people organised for petition, or for consultation with the king, or for the trial of accused persons. On such occasions the details of the popular procedure are of the greatest interest.

The Multitude under Herod.

Herod's troubles with 'the multitude' began on his embellishment of Jerusalem in honour of Augustus, about B.C. 25. When the people cried out against what they supposed to be images among the trophies he set up, he summoned 'their most eminent men,' and showed that the trophies stripped of

The People's feeling against Images.

[1] xiv. *Ant.* iii. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* xiii. 10.

[3] xvi. *Ant.* i. 2, v. 1; xvii. *Ant.* viii. 4 (where ὁμίλος is also used: cf. Rev. xviii. 17).

[4] xvii. *Ant.* v. 5; cf. under the Romans xx. *Ant.* vi. 2.

[5] xv. *Ant.* v. 2, 3.

[6] *Ibid.* vii. 7 (a pestilence carried off 'the greater part τῶν ὄχλων,' of the masses): cf. xx. *Ant.* viii. 5; *Vita* 31.

[7] xv. *Ant.* vii. 10; xvii. *Ant.* vi. 3 (almost synonymous with ὄχλος), ix. 2, x. 5, 10; xviii. *Ant.* i. 4, etc.

their ornament were but pieces of wood—a happy jest to the majority, who were disposed by it to change their feelings towards him. But ten of the citizens were not thus propitiated, and formed a conspiracy to slay the king, which he discovered by his spies, and put the conspirators to the sword. They died undauntedly protesting their piety in seeking the death of so great an enemy to the nation and corrupter of its customs.[1]

When 'the multitude' were unwilling to assist him in building the Temple, Herod won them over to his vast designs, not without difficulty, by 'calling them together' and explaining his motives and the methods he proposed to meet their objections.[2] Again, in B.C. 14, when he returned to Jerusalem from his visit to Marcus Agrippa, the Emperor's son-in-law, 'he brought together an Assembly of the whole people, the crowd from the country was also great'; made what Josephus calls 'an apologia of his whole journey,' dwelling on his assistance to the Jews of Asia Minor and all his good fortune; and remitted to the people one-fourth of their taxes—'so they went their ways with the greatest gladness.'[3] In B.C. 12 he made another 'apologia' to an Assembly on the favourable results of his visit to Augustus, and explained his dispositions with regard to his sons; but while the greater part of his audience accepted these, the rivalry of the young princes excited among the rest revolutionary ambitions.[4]

Herod's Apologias to the People.

About B.C. 8 Herod appealed to the people in another form. Two of his guards having under torture charged

[1] xv. *Ant.* viii. 1-4.
[2] *Ibid.* xi. 1, 2.
[3] xvi. *Ant.* ii. 5 (§§ 62-65).
[4] *Ibid.* iv. 6.

his sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, with designs on his life, Herod, apparently with respect to the Law which directed the parents of a rebellious son to bring him before the elders of their township to be stoned by all the men,[1] produced the tortured witnesses to declare their accusations before 'the multitude in Jericho,' and the latter stoned them. They would also have stoned the two princes had not Herod, through his friends, 'restrained the multitude,' and put his sons into prison to await the orders of the Emperor.[2] Augustus directed him to call a special court, which met at Beyrout. Of the 150 members, Roman officials and Herod's own friends, the majority voted for death, but Saturninus the president and his three sons for imprisonment. While Herod hesitated to inflict the capital sentence, an old soldier of his, Tero by name, spoke openly what many others thought, 'crying out among the multitudes that truth was perished and justice abolished from among men, while lies and malice so prevailed and brought such a fog upon affairs that the guilty became blind to the very greatest mischiefs men can suffer.' Tero even faced the king himself, reproaching his methods of government, and daring him to slay the princes. 'Dost thou not notice that the silence of the crowds at once sees the sin and abhors the passion, that the whole army and its officers commiserate the unfortunates and detest the men who have brought about these things?' Tero, after being tortured with his son and the king's barber, who had volunteered an accusation, was with 300 officers brought before an Assembly, and by the fickle multitude stoned to death. The conspiracy

'The Multitude' as Judges.

The case of Tero.

[1] Deut. xxi. 18 ff.

[2] xvi. *Ant.* x. 5.

alarmed Herod, and he had Alexander and Aristobulus immediately strangled.[1]

Again in 4 B.C. two teachers of the Law, Judas and Matthias, celebrated for their eloquence and beloved by the people, incited their disciples to destroy the works which Herod had erected contrary to the Law. When the Temple courts were thronged with people they cut down the golden eagle; but forty were arrested by the king's soldiers and apparently brought before an Assembly at Jericho. On their asserting their readiness to die for the Law they had vindicated, Herod declared to 'the principal men among the Jews' that the accused had at once affronted himself and done sacrilege against God, whereupon 'the people,' in fear of the dying lion, disowned the deed and approved the punishment of its authors.[2] But the fate of their beloved teachers rankled in the minds of 'the seditious'; and these, after vainly appealing to Archelaus on his accession, took action at the next Passover when 'an innumerable throng had come up out of the country.' Archelaus sent a regiment, but the multitude stoned them off, and went on with the sacrifices 'which were already in their hands.' The whole army was ordered out, and the revolt quelled with the slaughter of 3000 people: the rest fled to their homes or to the mountains.[3]

The People's Devotion to the Law.

These instances prove how even the most unscrupulous tyrant of the Jews found it necessary to conciliate the people, and expedient to employ the consultative and judicial courts through which their ancient constitution allowed them to express their

Summary under Herod.

[1] xvi. *Ant.* xi. 4.
[2] xvii. *Ant.* vi. 1-4.
[3] *Ibid.* ix. 1-3.

will. We also see that while it was possible for Herod to influence their prominent representatives, less by his casuistry than by the power of death he held over them, and while a large proportion of the masses were easily flattered, there was always a remnant incorruptible in their devotion to the Law. Among these were private individuals of great piety, lofty eloquence and a supreme contempt of death.

The People's Hope in Rome and their first Seditions.

It was the body of the Jewish people who besought the Romans to take the government of Judæa into their own hands. After the massacre at the Passover of 3 B.C., ambassadors were sent 'by authority of the nation' to Augustus. 'The head and front of their demand was this: to be delivered from the kingly and similar forms of government; that being annexed to the Province of Syria they might be subject to the Governors sent thither; for thus it would become manifest whether they were really seditious and given to revolt or not, when they had moderate men set over them.' Their plea was met by Nicolaus, the royal advocate, with charges of incurable seditiousness; and, as is well known, Augustus compromised the matter by taking the crown from Archelaus, but appointing him ethnarch of half his father's domains. In 6 A.D., on a second accusation both 'by his kinsmen and the principal men of Judæa and Samaria,' Archelaus was banished and Judæa became a Roman province.[1] The mass of the people were induced by the High Priest Joazar to accept the fiscal measures of the first Procurator, Cyrenius; but Judas of Gamala and a Pharisee named Saddok persuaded many

[1] xvii. *Ant.* xi. 1-4, xiii.; see above, pp. 413 f.

that obedience was no better than slavery, and effected a wide sedition. In these men Josephus marks the rise of a fourth sect among the Jews. After explaining the piety and popular religious doctrines of the Pharisees and their influence with the multitude, the consequent obligation of the Sadducees, when in power, to conform to the Pharisaic doctrines, and the separate communion of the Essenes; he describes the party of Judas as in general agreement with the Pharisees, but 'with an invincible love of liberty, maintaining that God is their only Governor and Lord, despising every form of death, nor allowing the fear of it to make them call any man lord.'[1]

The New Departure in Popular Politics.

There can be no doubt that Josephus is right in discriminating here a new departure in the politics of the people. This started indeed with the religious character which had always distinguished popular movements in Israel, but was gradually warped, by the new shapes of foreign despotism with which it contended, into the attitude and temper of a mainly political revolution. There is ample evidence that the mass of the people were content to live quietly under the Roman rule, so long as this was exercised with due respect to the religious forms of the nation and their own courts of law, and without oppression of their poverty. But any phase of despotism, however mild, was intolerable to the new party, who more or less consciously substituted a political for a religious ideal; and then, partly by the perversion of their contempt for their own death into a disregard of human life in general, partly by association with all the reckless spirits of the time, and partly because embittered

[1] xviii. *Ant.* i.

by the cruelties of some of the governors, degenerated into groups of desperadoes at war with society and often with each other. Although the body of the people and their wiser leaders showed wonderful patience under the religious or fiscal oppressions inflicted by certain of the governors, and even preferred a passive death to revolt, every abuse of power by the Romans drove more of them over to the parties of violent measures, till, as Josephus says, under the exactions of Gessius Florus the whole nation 'began to grow mad with this distemper,' and rose in that revolt, from the factious zeal of which, no less than by the success of Titus in breaking it, Jerusalem perished.

Some illustrations may be given of this development of sixty years from 6 to 66 A.D., and first of its nobler factors. In the Procuratorship of Pilate multitudes of Jews came to Cæsarea to beg him to remove the 'images of Cæsar' from Jerusalem. He surrounded them with soldiers, but they bared their throats, willing to die rather than have their laws broken.[1] When Vitellius would have marched his army through Judæa, 'the principal men' met and dissuaded him because of the images the soldiers would carry.[2] When Caligula ordered that his statue should be erected in Jerusalem, and Petronius the Legate of Syria was on his way to fulfil the command, 'many ten thousands of Jews' met him at Ptolemais, and besought that he would not force them to transgress the laws of their fathers. When they followed him to Tiberias and he asked if they meant war, they said No, but we rather die than break our laws, and threw themselves on their faces ready to be

Illustrative Instances.

[1] xviii. *Ant.* iii. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* iv. 3.

slain. This they did for forty days, neglecting the tillage of their lands although it was seed-time.[1] When some of their leaders impressed upon Petronius the resoluteness of 'the multitude,' he promised to write to Caligula and risk the attraction of the Imperial anger upon himself, if they would but go back to their fields. The result was that Caligula withdrew the order, and Petronius escaped the consequences of his intrepidity only through the Emperor's death.[2] The letter of Claudius concerning the sacred vestments is addressed 'to the rulers, senate, people of Jerusalem, the whole nation of the Jews.'[3] Under Cuspius Fadus, about 45 A.D., Theudas, who gave himself out as a prophet, persuaded a great part of the people to follow him to the Jordan and see him divide the river, but Fadus, suspecting a political movement, sent cavalry in pursuit, and Theudas with many of the people was slain.[4] The Procurator Cumanus (A.D. 48-52) had several conflicts with the multitude. Anticipating sedition at a Passover, he drew up a regiment in the Temple cloisters, and on one of the soldiers using an indecent gesture to the crowds of worshippers, a tumult ensued in which many were crushed to death. On their flight from the City, some of the rioters robbed an imperial servant. Upon the principle of communal responsibility, still enforced in the East, Cumanus sent soldiers to punish the nearest villages and arrest their chiefs. In these proceedings a copy of the Law was torn to pieces by

[1] Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*, says it was near harvest.

[2] xviii. *Ant.* viii. 2-8. There is also an interesting instance of the gathering of the multitude to an Assembly by one Simon (πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἄλισας), learned in the Law, to accuse King Agrippa of not living holily, but Agrippa conciliated the man, xix. *Ant.* vii. 4.

[3] xx. *Ant.* i. 2.

[4] *Ibid.* v. 1.

a soldier with insulting language. A large popular gathering marched on Cæsarea, asking Cumanus for vengeance, not for themselves but for God whose laws had been affronted, and the Procurator appeased them by ordering the soldier to be executed.[1] On another occasion, when he refused satisfaction to the Galilean pilgrims to Jerusalem for the slaughter of some of their number by the Samaritans, they persuaded the Jewish commonalty[2] to take arms and regain their liberty, for 'in itself slavery was a bitter thing, but when joined with wanton violence it was altogether unbearable.' They would not listen to some principal men, who tried to pacify them, but sought the assistance of Eleazar, a bandit, and plundered many Samaritan villages. Cumanus attacked them with four infantry regiments and many were slain. After this sharp lesson they yielded to the expostulations of 'the most eminent men of Jerusalem,' that by such conduct they would utterly subvert their country, and returned to their homes, while the bandits withdrew to their mountain fastnesses. But, adds Josephus, after this time all Judæa was filled with robberies.[3] Again, one Doctus induced a crowd to revolt from Rome, and for a time Cumanus feared the whole commonalty of Jerusalem would join them.[4] Affairs grew worse, as they could not but do, under Felix, A.D. 52-60, 'who with every cruelty and lust exercised the power of a king in the temper of a slave.'[5] 'The Robbers' mixed with the crowds at the Temple festivals, and proved how inadequate is the name that Josephus gives them by

[1] xx. *Ant.* v. 2-4.
[2] τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
[3] xx. *Ant.* vi. 1.
[4] *Ibid.* vi. 2.
[5] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

'persuading many to follow them into the wilderness' to a political revolt. For the moment Felix broke their power by wholesale crucifixion and imprisonment. But they were succeeded by 'the Sicarii,' secret assassins, who rendered life in Jerusalem absolutely insecure; while 'prophets' continued to appear, 'prevailed with the multitude to act like madmen, and went before them into the wilderness promising that God would show there the signals of liberty.' We shall never understand the history of the City without appreciating this conspiracy between its people and the free, wild desert at their gates. An Egyptian 'prophet' led up thousands[1] from the desert to the Mount of Olives to show them how at his command the walls of the City would fall, with the destruction, of course, of the Roman power. But Felix dispersed them. There arose, too, a conflict between 'the principal men of the multitude and the chief priests.'[2] Under Festus the Sicarii grew more bold, and captured some officers of the Temple as hostages against those of their own number who had been arrested.[3] Quarrels about the high-priesthood and the oppression of the people by members of the royal family increased the disorder. To propitiate the multitude Albinus, the next Procurator, A.D. 62-64, emptied the prisons but thereby filled the country with violence. The completion of the works on the Temple let loose a large number of men without employment—Josephus says 18,000. Then came the last and the worst of the Procurators, Gessius Florus,

[1] Acts xxi. 38 says 4000; Josephus, ii. *B.J.* xiii. 5, 30,000; and in xx. *Ant.* viii. 6 he says this man persuaded τῷ δημοτικῷ πλήθει, the masses of Jerusalem, to go with him.

[2] xx. *Ant.* viii. 5-8; ii. *B.J.* xiii. 2-5.

[3] xx. *Ant.* viii. 10, ix. 3.

A.D. 64-66, 'who compelled us,' says Josephus, 'to take up arms against Rome.' The reason is obvious. Florus disgusted the respectable members of the populace by conniving at 'the Robbers'' operations for a share of their spoil, and thus drove some of the best friends of Rome among the Jews over to the more active and fanatic groups.[1] We have seen from Josephus how he was appointed to the command of affairs in Galilee by an Assembly in Jerusalem; and how he invoked for his measures the authority sometimes of the Sanhedrin, sometimes of 'the commonwealth of the people of Jerusalem.' But he was compelled also to pay blackmail to 'the Robbers.' That he represents his rivals as exciting the populace to revolt, and himself as, at first at least, exercising restraint, may be due to his wish, when he wrote his life, of standing well with his Roman patrons. Yet when this is allowed for, there remains sufficient evidence that the nation, exasperated by the atrocities of Florus and inflamed by its fanatic and reckless members, whether in the name of religion or of liberty, forced the more staid of its leaders, and even the most astute and influential among these, into open war against Rome.[2]

These Political Conditions obvious in the Gospels.

Such, then, were the political conditions among which the Gospels describe our Lord as entering on His ministry. Below, there teemed a restless and an ambitious people—in part, at least, educated by the Pharisees, and in part blindly following this sect which had risen from among themselves. Accustomed to discussion and the expression of their own will through local courts and national assemblies; sensi-

[1] xx. *Ant.* xi. 1; ii. *B.J.* xiv. f.

[2] See above, pp. 432 ff.

tive to eloquence and beneath its spell aware of their sheer weight and movement; straining, beyond all hold of their teachers, for the appearance of prophets, and throbbing to the promises of a great leader with which their sacred books abounded; they felt the brute blood and strength in them as the omen of that divine suddenness with which the Apocalypses, so popular at the time, declared that the Kingdom of Heaven, the redemption of Sion, should arrive. Among them were many of a devout temper whose ideals were spiritual, and who were content, as were others not so spiritual, with their foreign yoke, so long as it was moderately exercised. All were jealous for the Law and the purity of the national worship; but the mass were possessed in addition with a passion for political freedom that sometimes intensified and sometimes overwhelmed the other elements of their faith. Fickle, therefore, and beyond most 'multitudes' frankly fickle, they swung now to the spiritual and now to the material goals of their hope; ready to acclaim any prophet who promised deliverance, but as ready to turn on him if they found that his purpose did not include their political enfranchisement. Above, hung the Roman power, armed, vigilant, menacing; anxious at heart to understand the people and to conserve their laws and customs; but blundering by accident, or through the insolence and greed of its agents, into cruel insults and oppressions; always provocative to the pride and defiling to the conscience of the nation; the embodiment of every worldly force that had ever crushed their liberties or polluted their religious life. Around, lay in the first place those Greek communities, which must have

(1) The Jewish People.

(2) The Roman Power.

infected the Jewish townships of Galilee and Jerusalem herself with their particular restlessness and love of change—that *neoterismos* which Josephus feels increasing among his countrymen through all this period;[1] and in the second place those great deserts, their spaces so near and so free for large popular rallies, their scenery so native to fanaticism, their air so redolent of the origins and most heroic recoveries of Israel.

(3) The Greek Communities.

(4) The Deserts.

We see it all in the Gospels. In Galilee *the multitude* is always ready to gather; always about Jesus. Weaned from their homes, their tillage, their fishing, careless even of their food, they follow Him into desert places. The most sane among them want to know when the Kingdom shall be given to Israel; the most mad call the spirits that possess them by the name of the nation's incubus, the Legion. The people desire to make Him king, by the same force with which their fathers had deposed and appointed monarchs for untold ages. And they had a conscience among them—a rough moral instinct which Herod Antipas feared when he did wrong, and to which Jesus confidently appealed from the religious authorities. But till He came they had no true leader, and He had compassion on them as sheep without a shepherd. When He went up to Jerusalem it was still with the crowds, 'the innumerable throng from the country,' who would keep festival, and it was not a city

Jesus and the Multitude.

[1] It is very doubtful how much Greek example influenced the Jews. Their frequent cry for liberty, when it sounds alone, sounds more essentially human than particularly Greek, and is generally accompanied by a religious pretext. The leaders, whether 'prophets' or 'robbers,' have practically all Hebrew names, and the trend of the movements they start is not towards the (Greek) city, but towards the (Semitic) desert.

which He addressed there, but a nation concentrated like a city beneath one man's influence. The mountains were around, the deserts lay near. Had He ordered them to the wilderness they would have followed Him as they followed the Egyptian and Theudas. Had He promised that the walls of Jerusalem would fall before Him and the Roman garrison be swept to the sea, they would have died for Him by their thousands as they died for others. But He never spoke against Rome. He recognised their duty to Cæsar. He said that His kingdom was not of this world, and that only the truth could make them free. Therefore they turned against Him, and within a week of welcoming Him as king to the City—though Judas and the priests still feared their uncertain temper[1]—they haled Him, a criminal, before the Roman governor, and with Rome they shared the guilt of His death.

'The Multitude' in Acts.

In the Book of Acts the same mobility and power of the 'multitude' of Jerusalem are several times visible, and we are reminded in addition by the danger of Paul, when he introduced (as was supposed) Greeks to the Temple, of the one occasion on which the multitude had summary powers of death with which even Rome hesitated to interfere.[2] Stephen's murder, on the other hand, was not within the powers permitted to the Jews by Rome. It is also of interest that in the Book of Acts the Christian Church works officially upon the democratic precedents set her throughout the law and history of the Old Covenant. The hundred and twenty gathered to elect an apostle in place of Judas are called *a crowd*; the πλῆθος of them that believed were of one heart and one soul;[3] when there

[1] Luke xxii. 6. [2] Acts xxi.: above, pp. 414, 424 f. [3] Acts ii. 15; iv. 32.

arose a murmuring of the Hellenists against the Hebrews, the twelve called *the multitude together*, and when they had made their proposals, *the saying pleased the whole multitude*, and they chose the seven deacons.[1] *The Multitude* is the name for the Christian community at Antioch.[2] The same Greek term which Luke uses for the populace of Greek cities[3] and for the men of Israel,[4] he applies to the body of the faithful in Christ Jesus.

[1] Acts vi. 1-5: τὸ πλῆθος.
[2] xv. 30; cf. verse xii.
[3] xiv. 4; xix. 9, etc.
[4] xxi.

GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUME I.

Absalom, 109.
'Abu Sabûn,' 'father of soap,' 320.
Academy, 253 *n.*, 268 *n.*
Aceldama, 176.
Achan, 327.
Acre, 344. *See* Ptolemais.
Acts, Book of, 455.
Adamnanus, 271 *n.*
Adonijah, feast at 'En-rogel, 109, 110.
'Adwân, the tribe, 286.
Ædepsus, hot springs of, 66.
Aelia Capitolina, 116, 185, 266, 271.
Agatharchides of Cnidus, 261 *n.*
Agriculture, 278, 335.
Agrippa, 183, 414, 427 *f.*
—— II., 431 *f.*
Agrippa's Wall, 45, 48, 235, 237 *ff.*, 244, 245, 428.
Aḥaz, 207, 353.
Ahimaaz, 109, 111.
'Ain Artas, 124.
'Ain Atân, 124, 125, 130.
'Ain ed-Derej, 124-27.
'Ain el-'Arrûb, 125.
'Ain el-Ḥanîyeh, 122.
'Ain el-Hôd, 87 *n.*, 122.
'Ain el-Khanduk, 87 *n.*
'Ain el-Lôze, 100, 111.
'Ain el-Maghârah, 124.
'Ain el-Mudawara, 122.
'Ain el-Muhandis, 122.
'Ain er-Rawâs, 122.
'Ain es-Ṣûwân, 122.
'Ain Faghûr, 124.
'Ain Fârah, 123.
'Ain Farujeh, 124.
'Ain Ḥoḍ, 87 *n.*
'Ain Ṭidy, 319.
'Ain Kârim, 15 *n.*, 27, 123.
'Ain Karyet es-Sa'ideh, 87 *n.*
'Ain Ṣaleḥ, 124, 127.
'Ain Silwan, 45, 97.
'Ain Sitti Mariam, 40, 45, 87 *ff.* 169.
'Ain Umm Deraj. *See* 'Ain Sitti Mariam, 87 *f.*
'Ain Yalo, 122.
Ajalon, 298.
Akra, the, 157, 158, 195, 225, 227, 391.
Akṣa mosque, 65.
Albinus, Procurator, 429, 451.
Aleppo, 62.
Alexander Balas, King of Syria, 403.
Alexander Jannæus, 348, 409, 442.
Alexander Polyhistor, 84.
Alexander (son of Herod the Great), 444.
Alexander the Great, invasion of, 395.
Alexandra, Queen, 410.
Alexandria, 370 *f.*
Alkali, 320.
Alten, Baron von, 161 *n.*, 162 *n.*, 167, 169 *n.*
Amalrich I., 344.
Amenhotep III., 143.
'Ammân, 315, 317, 322.
Amorite invasion of Palestine, 283.
Amos, 147, 333, 369.
Amygdalon Pool, 115.
Ananias, 433.
'Anâta Road, 39.
'Anathoth, 298.
Anderlind, 326 *n.*
Anderson, 51.
Ankel, 78 *n.*
Antigonus, King of the Jews, 412.
Anti-Lebanon, 320.
Antimony, 333.
Antioch, earthquakes at, 62, 64, 68, 370 *f.*, 456.
Antiochus III., the Great, 343, 392.

Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, 157, 194, 225. 392, 397 *f.*, 399, 441.
—— V., 194.
—— VII., 131, 194.
Antipater, 194, 328.
Antonia, 27, 34, 36, 46, 116, 121, 154, 163, 166, 169, 183, 201, 204, 208, 231, 237, 241, 244, 247, 248, 426.
Antoninus, Martyr, 186 *n.*, 264.
Apameia, 68, 72 *n.*
Apion, 307.
Apocalyptic writings, 172.
Apollonius of Rhodes, 372.
Appian, 62, 163 *n.*, 195 *n.*, 261 *n.*
Aqueduct, possible from the North, 123.
Aqueducts, 123 *ff.*
—— High Level, 127 *f.*; date, 128 *ff.*
—— Low Level, 120, 125 *ff.*; date, 129 *ff.*
Arabia, 319, 322, 327 *f.*, 331, 333, 336, 341, 374.
Arameans, attack by the, 207.
'Arak el-Emir, 14, 286.
Aram, King of, 352.
Araunah, 46, 230.
Archelaus, 413, 442, 445 *f.*
Arculf, 264.
Arethusa, 67 *n.*
Ariel, 259, 268.
Aristobulus I., 409.
—— II., 410, 442.
—— (son of Herod the Great), 444.
Ark, the, 46, 155, 292.
Armenian gardens, 35.
Arnon, 11.
'Artas, 126 *f.*, 376.
Artaxerxes Ochus, 195.
Artificial water supplies, 112.
Asa, 352.
Asarhaddon, 268.
Ascalon, 63.
Asia Minor, 324, 326, 371.
Ass, the, 307, 322, 327.
Assembly or Congregation: (1) National, the ultimate source of authority in Israel, 394, 436; under Nehemiah, 383, 440; under Priestly Code, 387; under the Ptolemies, 389 (according to Hecatæus), 391, 440 (in the 'Letter to Aristeas'), 441 (according to Josephus); under Judas Maccabeus, 401 *f.*; under Simon, 343, 404 *f.*, 441; under Herod, 443; under Agrippa I., 449 *n.*; elects provincial governors in the First Revolt, 432, 452. *See also* Congregation, 'Edah and Ḳahal or Ecclesia.
Assembly or Congregation: (2) Local or Communal, 377 and 377 *n.* (elders of townships with judicial powers, as in Deuteronomy, etc.), 436 *ff.*; under Herod, 444 *f.* (again with judicial powers). Compare the testimony of Ecclesiasticus, 397; the local Sanhedrins of the Mishna, 415 *n.*; the provincial synedria or synagogues of the Gospels, 417.
'Assembly of the Congregation' in Joel appears to be for worship only, 389.
Assizes of Jerusalem, 344.
Assyria, 346, 353.
Assyrians' blockade of Jerus., 207.
Assyrians, camp of the, 245.
Athaliah, 325.
Athenæum, 330 *n.*
Athenæus, 67, 68 *n.*
Augustus, 442 *f.*, 446.

Baalath, 343.
Babelon, 406 *n.*
Bâb el-Khalîl, 240.
Bâb el-Mughârib, 192, 233.
Bâb en-Neby Daûd, 134.
Bâb es-Sâhire, 239.
Bâb es-Silsile, 243.
Bâb Sitti Mariam, 238.
Bâb Ṣahyun, 134.
Babylon, well at, 73.
Babylonia, 327, 330, 334, 341, 353 *f.*, 366, 380, 385.
Babylonian name of City, 255.
Babylonians, 13, 278, 283.
Bacchides, 157.
Bacon, Francis, 347 *n.*
Baedeker, 31 *n.*, 88 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 93 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 108 *n.*, 113 *n.*, 117 *n.*, 124 *n.*, 130 *n.*, 167 *n.*, 192 *n.*, 239 *n.*
Baer, 104 *n.*, 251 *n.*, 252 *n.*
Baldensperger, 309 *n.*, 312 *n.*, 374 *n.*, 376 *n.*
Baldwin II., 344.
—— III., 342.
—— IV., 346.

Barbour's *Brus*, the name Ierusalem, 264.
Barclay, 176 *n.*, 211 *n.*
Baris, the, 160.
Barley, 299, 316.
Barth, 251 *n.*, 290 *n.*, 329 *n.*
Barton, G. A., 240 *n.*, 436 *n.*
Barzillai, 367.
Basalt, 332, 333.
Bashan, 321.
Bazaar, the beginnings of the, 368.
Bede, 219.
Bedouin, the, 311, 320 *f.*, 323.
Be'eroth, 123.
Beirût, 63, 444.
Ben-Hinnom, 172.
Bennett, W. H., 347 *n.*
Benzinger, 77 *n.*, 82 *n.*, 113 *n.*, 117, 167, 176 *n.*, 225 *n.*, 338 *n.*, 345. *See also* Schick and Socin.
Bergheim, 280 *n.*
Bernard, 264.
Berosus, 261 *n.*
Bertheau, 196 *n.*
Bertholet, 196 *n.*
Beth-Din, the, 421.
—— the Great, 424 *f.* *See* Sanhedrin.
Bethesda, Pool of, 91, 116, 118.
Bethhoron, 10, 343.
Bethlehem, 10, 11, 56, 65, 124, 126, 127, 130, 337.
Beth-Memel, 114.
Bethphage, 18.
Bethsaida, 294.
Beth-Shemesh, 292.
Bezetha, 18, 33, 54, 183, 238, 239, 242, 244, 247.
Biblical World, 76 *n.*, 80 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 91 *n.*, 98 *n.*, 108 *n.*, 116 *n.*, 117 *n.*, 258 *n.*
Bik 'at-Tekua', 125.
Birch, Rev. W. F., 106 *n.*, 107 *n.*, 167, 175, 202 *n.*
Bir Eiyub, 39 *f.*, 51, 57 *f.*, 74, 80 *f.*, 98, 110, 113.
Bir el-Arwa, 84, 85.
Birket el-'Arrûb, 125.
Birket el-Hamrâ, 98, 119, 220, 225.
Birket el-Khalîl, 319.
Birket es-Sultân, 56, 113.
Birket Hammâm el-Batrak, 114. *See* Pool of Patriarch's Bath.
Birket Hammam Sitti Maryam, 118.
Birket Isra'il, 34, 116, 117, 238.
Birket Mamilla, 26, 113 *ff.*
Birket Silwan, 97, 98, 102, 119.
Bishop Gobat's school, 213.
Bittîr, 123, 303.
Black and Menzies, 360 *n.*
Blake, 96 *n.*
Blanckenhorn, Dr. Max, on the geology, etc., 52, 55 *ff.*, 55 *n.*, 56 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 309 *n.*
Blass, 264.
Bleek, *Einleitung i.d.A.T.*[6], 251 *n.*
Bliss, Dr. (see also *Excavations at Jerusalem*), 41 *n.*, 76 *n.*, 94 *n.*, 94-97, 97 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 126, 130 *f.*, 138, 143, 167, 168 *n.*, 177 *ff.*, 181, 186 *n.*, 189, 190 *n.*, 197, 210 *n.*, 212, 212 *n.*, 214-16 *ff.*, 218 *n.*, 220 *n.*, 224 *ff.*, 225 *n.*, 284 *n.*, 310 *n.*, 330 *n.*, 373 *n.*
Boha-ed-Din, 145.
Bongars, 264 *n.*
Bonney, T. G., 211 *n.*
Bordeaux Pilgrim, 97 *n.*, 116, 164, 185 *n.*, 264.
Boule, or Council, 390, 396 *ff.*
Boundaries of Jerusalem, 45.
Brass, 330.
Broad Wall, the, 203.
Brocardus, 84 *n.*
Bronze, 330 *f.*
Büchler, Dr. Adolf, 368 *n.*; on the Sanhedrin, 419, 419 *n.*, 421 *n.*, 422 *n.*
Budde, K., 267 *n.*, 419 *n.*
Buhl, Fr., 78 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 104 *n.*, 108 *n.*, 111 *n.*, 167, 168 *n.*, 174 *n.*, 176 *n.*, 280 *n.*
Bukeia', the, 55, 128, 303.
Burckhardt, 286 *n.*, 312 *n.*, 319 *n.*, 320, 366.
Burj el-Kibrit, 127, 185.
Burj Laklak, 239.
Burme, 332.
Byzantine architecture, 218, 232, 243.
—— period, 227, 228, 241.

Cæsarea, 350, 413, 428, 448, 450.
Caligula, 427, 448 *f.*
Calvary, traditional, 54, 64 *n.*
Camels, 308, 322 *f.*, 327.
Canaanite name of City, 253 *f.*
Canaanites, 283, 369.

Capernaum, 342, 344.
Caravans, 323, 328, 341 *f.*, 344.
Casales (or villages with their lands), in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, 353.
Caspari, Dr. Ch. Ed., 166, 166 *n.*
Cassius, Dion. *See* Dion Cassius.
Castor and Pollux, 69.
Catherwood, 211 *n.*
Cattle-breeding in Judæa, 307; in E. Palestine, 321.
Cave-dwellers of the Stone Age, 283.
Cave-dwellings in Silwân, 136; on the East Hill, 141; there and on South-West Hill, 284.
Celsus, 373 *n.*
Cereal crops in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, 298.
Cestius, legate, 244, 432 *f.*
Chalcis, 67 *n.*, 430 *f.*
Chalk strata of Jerusalem, 52 *ff.*
Chaphenatha, 195.
Chaplin, Dr., 12 *n.*, 18 *n.*, 19 *n.*, 62, 65, 77 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 107 *n.*
Charles, Rev. R. H., 172 *n.*
Cheyne, Prof., on serpent myths, 74 *n.*; on passages in Isaiah, 104 *n.*, 148, 259; also 202 *n.*, 290 *n.*, 327.
Chiliarch, the title, 426.
Choerilos, supposed reference to the Jews, 262.
Chōrai (the Greek word), 294.
Chosroes II., 186.
Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, tolls in, 342.
Chronicler, the, 338, 379, 387, 397.
Church of Holy Sepulchre, 35, 55, 121, 295, 353.
—— of St. Anne, 34, 118.
—— of St. Stephen, 33, 39.
Cicero and the name Hierosolyma, 261.
Cilicia, 340.
Cisterns, in the Temple, 119 *f.*; in the City, 121 *f.*; Guthe on, as determining lines of ancient walls, 188 *n.* 2; north of City, 246; construction of, creates property in land, 289.
Citadel, the, 23, 35, 41, 240, 242, 245.
'City of David,' 47, 102, 134, 135, 144, 154, 161, 165, Bk. I. ch. vi.
'City of Righteousness,' 269.
Civil administration of City, 349, 382 *ff.*, 391 *f.*, 397, 404, 423. *See* Sanhedrin.
Clark's Bible-Class Primers, 168 *n.*
Claudius, Emperor, 427 *f.*, 430 *f.*, 449.
Clay, 309, 372.
Clearchus of Soli on a Jew, 260, 260 *n.*
Clement, Consul, 128.
Clermont-Ganneau, 56 *n.*, 73 *n.*, 76, 76 *n.*, 94, 94 *n.*, 95 *n.*, 109 *n.*, 116, 116 *n.*, 128 *n.*, 136 *n.*, 198 *n.*, 253 *n.*, 270, 284 *n.*, 285, 289 *n.*, 293, 295, 295 *n.*, 310 *n.*, 333 *n.*, 425 *n.*
Cœnaculum, 35, 41, 212, 218.
Coinage of the Persians, 405; of Phœnician cities, 405; of Greeks in Asia, 405; of Simon Maccabeus (?), 405 *ff.*; of the Hasmoneans, 408 *ff.*; of Romans in Judæa, 414, 429; of Agrippa I., 427; of First Revolt, 433; of Second Revolt, 434.
Commerce of Jerusalem, Bk. II. ch. v., 310, 335.
Conder, Col., 10 *n.*, 52, 52 *n.*, 76, 76 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 90, 93, 93 *n.*, 95 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 107 *n.*, 111 *n.*, 120 *n.*, 142 *n.*, 145 *n.*, 156 *n.*, 165, 211 *n.*, 212, 212 *n.*, 238, 246 *n.*
Congregation, Synagogē, equivalent to the whole people in Ecclesiasticus, 392, cf. 401; as translation of *'Edah* in the Priestly Code, 386. *See* Assembly, 'Edah, Ḳahal, Synagogē.
Constitution, early Hebrew, 279; of Israel before the Exile, 377 *ff.*; after the Return, 380 *ff.*; under Nehemiah, 382 *ff.*; growth of, from Nehemiah to the Maccabees, 384 *ff.*; in Priestly Code, 385; under the Maccabees, 398 *ff.*; under the Romans, 411 *ff.*; Bk. II. ch. ix. *See also* Royal Revenues, Sanhedrin, etc.
Cooke, G. A., 95 *n.*, 96 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 293 *n.*, 342 *n.*, 353 *n.*
Copper, 330 *f.*
Corner Gate, 202 *f.*, 206.

Cotton Grottoes, 239, 245. *See* Royal Caverns.
Coulanges, M. Fustel de, 438.
Council, New Testament name for Sanhedrin, 415.
Court Officials, 349.
Crafts and industries, 335, 373; and Bk. II. ch. viii., 367 *ff.*
Craftsmen, 373 *f.*
Critical Review, 255 *n.*, 431 *n.*
Cruden's *Concordance*, 145 *n.*
Crusades, Histories of. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, 65; *Hist. Orientaux*, 342 *n.* (*bis*), 344 *n.*; *Assises de Jérusalem*, 344 *n.*; *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, 344 *n.* *See also* William of Tyre.
Crusaders, 113, 185, 241, 322, 341, 344; names for City, 264.
Crusading architecture, 218, 240.
Crusading kingdom taxes and tolls, 341 *f.*
Cumanus, Procurator, 429, 431, 449 *f.*
Cuspius Fadus, Procurator, 428, 449.
Cyprus, 314, 317, 324, 331.
Cyrene, 371.
Cyrenius, Procurator, 446.

Dalman, 303 *n.*
Damascus, 341, 342 *f.*, 344.
Damascus Gate. *See* Gates of the City.
Darius, 383.
Darum (fortress), 342.
Daughter of Sion, 148, 149, 269.
David, 13, 108, 135, 155, 208, 313, 326, 331, 337 *ff.*, 345, 347, 352, 369, 373, 377.
—— tomb of, 134.
—— gate of, 134.
—— Street, 35.
David's-Burgh, 134, 144, 154, 181, 198, 205, 209, 227. *See also* City of David.
'David's Tower,' 134, 164, 191, 242.
Davidson, Dr. A. B., 167, 168 *n.*
Dawson, Sir J. William, 52, 283.
Dead Sea, 10, 12, 306, 319.
Deborah, 400.
Delitzsch, Franz, *Genesis*, 145 *n.* 2; *Psalmen*, 145 *n.* 1; *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben*, 375 *n.*
—— Friedrich, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 292 *n.*, 293 *n.*, 382 *n*; *Wo lag das Paradies?* 252 *n.*, 253 *n.*, 257 *n.* (*bis*).
Demetrius of Callatis, 66.
Demetrius I. (Soter), King of Syria, 402 *f.*
Demetrius II., 157, 404.
Democracy, growth of, 380 *f.*, 385, 436; in Europe, 438.
Desert, the, Heb. name for, Midbar = pasture-ground, 290 *n.*, possibilities of pasture, 3, 322, difficulties of, 307; view of, from Jerusalem, 11; nearness to Jerusalem, 3, 12; intercourse of Jerusalem with people of the, 13 *f.*, 310, 319 *ff.*; influence of desert on character and history of Jerusalem, 4, 12 *f.*, 400, 451, 454 *f.*
De Saulcy, 406 *n.*, 414 *n.*
Deuteronomy, 332, 351, 355 *ff.*, 360, 363, 370.
De Vogüé, 164, 242 *n.*
Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas, 76 *n.*
De Wette, 418.
Diaspora, the Jewish, 364, 371, 441.
Dickie, Mr. A. C., 97, 189, 190 *n.*, 212, 212 *n.*
Diener, Carl, *Libanon*, etc., 62, 63 *n.*, 306 *n.*, 320.
Diodorus Siculus, 26 *n.*, 261 *n.*, 365 *n.*, 389 *n.*
Dion Cassius, 16 *n.*, 62, 64 *n.*, 68, 68 *n.*, 80, 87, 189 *n.*, 224, 261 *n.*, 270.
Dios, 263 *n.*
Doctus, 450.
Dodu, Gaston, 346 *n.*
Dome of the Rock, 34, 120.
Domestic cisterns, 121.
Doris, 428.
Double Gate. *See* Gates of the Temple.
Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 252, 286, 315.
Dragons, mythology of, 71 *ff.*, 90.
Dragon's Fountain, 74, 83, 101, 111, 171.
Dragon Well, 118. *See* Pool of the Virgin.
Driver, Professor, on Siloam Inscription, 95 *n.*; on position of Sion, 167, 168 *n.*; on 'Jebus,' 267 *n.*; *Comm. on Deuteronomy*, 360 *n.*; also 316 *n.*, 386 *n.*
Duhm, 226 *n.*

Dung-Gate. *See* Gates of City.
Durand, Père Germer, 128.

Earthquakes, Book I. chap. iv.; authorities on, 61 *f.*; in Syria, 62, 65; in Judæa, 63; in Jerusalem, 63 *ff.*; their effects on springs, 66 *ff.*; 82; possible effects on springs in Jerusalem, 69 *f.*, 82 *f.*, 86, 101 (*bis*); connection with tidal waves, 72; mythology of, 70 *ff.*; and dragons, 71 *ff.*, 90.
Eastern Palestine, 321 *f.*
East Hill, 33 *f.*, 64, 135, 138, 181, 205, 221, 224.
East Wall of City, 198, 234, 236.
Ecclesia, *see* Ḳahal; parallel to whole people in Ecclesiasticus, 392 *n.* 2.
Ecclesiastes, 346.
Ecclesiasticus, 391, 441.
Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, 406 *n.*
Economics and Politics, Book II.
Economic origins of Jerusalem, Book II. chap. ii.
—— problems of Jerusalem (Book II. chap. i.), 275.
'Edah, the, or Congregation—in Priestly Code, 386, 386 *n.*; trans. in Ecclesiasticus by Synagogē, 391; 'Edah of Gates of God, 391 *n.*
Edom, 283, 331.
Egypt, Assyrian name for, 257; exports to Judæa, 311 (weapons), 314 (corn), 317 *f.* (fish), 324 (horses), 327 (gold); mules in, 326 *n.*; Syrian slaves, 312; import of horses from Asia Minor, 324; of silver, 329; use of copper wire as money, 331; tolls for, at Gaza, 341; at Darum and Montroyal, 342 *f.* *See also* Amenhotep III., Shishak, and the Ptolemies.
Egyptian name for Jerusalem (possible), 268.
—— prophet, 451, 455.
Elders: of Jerusalem not mentioned before the Exile, 377 *ff.*; of Judah, Israel and the people, 377 *ff.*; in Ezra-Nehemiah, 383; the seventy, 387; in I Maccabees, 393, 396, 404 *f.*; judicial power of, 444. *See also* Gerousia and Sanhedrin.
Eleazar, High Priest, 390 *f.*
Eleazar Maccabeus, 400.
Eleazar, a robber under Cumanus, 450.
Eleazar (temple-strategos), son of Ananias, the high priest, 432.
Eleazar, son of Simon, holds the Inner Temple Court in 69, 70 A.D., 433.
Eleazar, priest, 132 A.D., 434.
Elektron, 330.
el-Aḳṣâ, 34.
el-Bîreh, 123, 124.
el-Bukei'a, 31.
el-Edhemîyeh, 33, 54.
el-Fûwarah, 90 *n.*
el-Jib, 123, 124.
el-Jôf, 319.
el-Ḳuds, 270.
El-Shaddai, 71.
el-Wad, 10, 32 *f.*, 35, 40, 44 *ff.*, 46, 49, 58, 137, 139, 170, 171. *See also* Tyropœon.
Eliakim, high priest, 402.
Eliashib, 360.
Elohist, the, 387.
Encyclopædia Biblica, 74 *n.*, 76 *n.*, 86 *n.*, 93 *n.*, 162 *n.*, 172 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 202 *n.*, 247 *n.*, 250 *n.*, 267 *n.*, 281 *n.*, 294 *n.*, 304 *n.*, 307 *n.*, 311 *n.*, 317 *n.*, 323 *n.*, 324 *n.*, 327 *n.*, 329 *n.*, 330 *n.*, 331 *n.*, 340 *n.*, 341 *n.*, 345 *n.*, 347 *n.*, 354, 371 *n.*
Encyclopædia Britannica, 175 *n.*, 231 *n.*, 419 *n.*
Encyclopædia, Jewish, 419.
'En Ethâm, 130.
Enoch, Book of, 67.
'En-rogel, 64, 101, 108 *ff.*, 173; possibly also a village, 111.
Environs of the City, aspects of, 16 *f.*; names for, 292.
Ephraim, 416.
Ephraim Gate. *See* Gates of the City.
Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 318 *n.*, 328 *n.*, 331 *n.*
Eroge. *See* 'En-rogel.
Esdraelon, plain of, 295, 298.
Esdras II., 67.
eṣ-Ṣakhra, 34, 36, 46, 54, 154, 231.
es-Salṭ, 14.
Esther, Apocryphal Book of, 73.
Ethnarch, title of, 404, 411.
Ethnic Origins of Jerusalem, Book II. chap. ii.

Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, 186 *n.*
Eucherius, 264.
Eudocia, Empress, 186, 216, 219, 228, 234.
Euphrates, 341.
Eupolemus, 315, 322.
Europe, Arabian trade with, through Gaza, 341.
Eusebius, 116, 118 *n.*, 129 *n.*, 163 *n.*, 173, 174, 261 *n.*, 264, 271 *n.*
Euting, 95 *n.*
Evagrius, 68, 68 *n.*
Ewald, 406 *n.*
Excavations at Jerusalem, by Bliss and Dickie, 41, 126 *n.*, 131 *n.*, 215 *n.*, 217 *n.*, 219 *n.*, 220 *n.*, 221 *n.*, 222 *n.*, 223 *n.*, 228 *n.*, 229 *n.*
Exports from Judæa, 299, 301, 304, 312, 333 *ff.*
Expositor, 70 *n.*, 100 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Ezekiel, 149, 313, 316, 324, 330, 334, 338, 370, 438.
Ezra, 150, 313, 343, 381, 383, 386 *f.*, 400.

Feast of Tabernacles, 410.
Felix, Procurator, 429, 450 *f.*
Fenton, *Early Hebrew Life*, 280 *n.*, 292 *n.*
Fergusson, James, *Essay on the Ancient Top. of Jerus.*, 166 *n.*, 231 *n.*, 246 *n.*
Festus, Procurator, 429, 451.
Field of Blood, 176. *See* Aceldama.
Fifth Legion, 116.
Fig-tree, the, in Judæa, 299, 304.
Finance of the Temple, Book II. ch. vii.
Financiers, Jewish, 368, 440 *f.*
First Gate. *See* Gates.
Fischer, Theobald, *Studien über das Klima der Mittelmeerländer*, 78 *n.*; *Der Ölbaum*, 300 *n.*, 301 *f.*
Fish imported to Jerusalem, 317 *f.*
Fish-curing, 318.
Fish-Gate. *See* Gates.
Flax, 334.
Flinders Petrie, 330 *n.*
Flint implements, 284 *f.*
Fons Juturnæ, 69.
Forder, *With Arabs in Tent and Town*, 319.
Fortifications, earliest in Palestine, 286; of the Greek and Roman periods, 187 *ff.*; under Maccabees, 194 *f.*; under the Kings, 206 *ff.*; Assyrian, 206.
Fountain Gate. *See* Gates.
Fountain of our Lady Mary, 87. *See* 'Ain Sitti Mariam.
Fowls, 307.
Fraas, Dr. Oscar, *Aus dem Orient*, 51, 54 *n.*, 55 *n.*, 78 *n.*
Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, 290 *n.*, 293 *n.*
Fruit-trees in Judæa, 299-305.
Fulke, King, 319.
Fuller, Thomas, *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, 173.
Fuller's field, the, 105, 114; monument, 244.
Furness, H. H., translation of Psalm xlvi., 67 *n.*
Furrer, Dr. K., in *Z.N.T.W.*, 84 *n.*, 200 *n.*; in Schenkel's *B.L.*, 107 *n.*, 166 *n.*

Gabinius, 411.
Gadara, 294.
Gai, the, or Hag-Gai, 46, 49, 171, 177; and Gai ben Hinnom, 111, 171, 175, 196, 197.
Galilee, 322, 344, 371, 402, 409, 431, 433; its linen goods, 375; influence of Sanhedrin there, 415 *ff.*; appointment of Josephus to its government, 432, 452; its multitude, 454.
Gamel, Mr. J., 77 *n.*
Garrisons in Jerusalem, 346 *ff.*
Gates in Jerusalem—
A. Of the City in the Bible and Josephus:—
of Benjamin, 201. *See* Sheep-Gate.
between the Two Walls, 226.
of the Corner, 201, 202 *f.*, 206. *See* First Gate.
Dung-Gate, 111, 171, 176-79, 197, 219 *f.*, 223.
of Ephraim, 203, 206.
First Gate, 201 *f.*
Fountain-Gate, 106, 176, 197, 219 *ff.*, 223.
Fish-Gate, 201, 203, 237, 317.
of the Gai or Valley Gate, 171, 176 *ff.*, 197, 200, 204, 206, 215.
Garden-Gate or Gate Genath, 183, 204, 241, 243.

Gates in Jerusalem—(*continued*).
Harsith, 173.
Horse-Gate, 199, 325.
of the Yeshanah (?) or Mishneh (?), 202.
'Secret Gate,' 243 *n.*
Sheep-Gate, 200 f.
Valley-Gate. *See* Gate of the Gai.
probable Gate near Ḳaṣr Jalûd, 240.
Water-Gate, 86, 199.
Gate beside the 'Women's Towers,' 245.
B. Of the City in Arab, Crusading and modern times:—
of Columns, or Pillars, or Damacus Gate, 36, 39, 48, 84, 121, 184, 202, 239.
of Damascus. *See* of Columns of David, 134, 344. *See* Sion-gate and Bâb Ṣahyun.
of Herod, 239 (Bâb es-Sâhire).
Jaffa Gate, 10, 23, 26, 35, 41, 48, 114, 177, 203 *f.*, 209, 240, 242 *f.* *See* Bâb el-Khalil.
of Pillars. *See* of Columns.
St. Stephen's, 238. *See* Bâb Sitti Mariam.
Sion. *See* of David.
C. Of the Temple:—
Double Gate, 192, 233.
'Golden Gate,' 40, 200, 231, 236 (*bis*).
of the Muster (Hammiphkadh), 200.
Single Gate, 233. *See also* Bâb el-Mughârib and Bâb es-Silsile.
Gatt, Georg, *Die Hügel von Jerus.*, etc., 137 *n.*, 165, 165 *n.*
Gauls, Herod's soldiers, 348.
Gaza, 63, 311, 320, 341.
Gehenna, 170, 173 *ff.* *See* Hinnom, valley of.
Geiger, 418.
Geikie, Sir Archibald, on earthquakes and springs, 62, 68 *f.*
Geikie, Prof. James, *Outlines of Geology*, 53 *n.*, 62, 66 *n.*
Geology of Jerusalem, Book I. ch. iii., 50, 51, 58 *ff.*; effect on water-supply, 79 *ff.*; authorities on, 51.
Germans, soldiers of Herod, 348.
Germer-Durand, Father, 54 *n.*, 284, 284 *n.*
Germanus Pool, 113.
Gerousia or Senate, 390, 392, 396 *f.*, 404 *f.*, 408.
Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 144, 144 *n.*, 251 *n.*, 258 *n.*
Gesenius-Kautzsch, 95 *n.*
Gessius Florus, 429, 432, 448, 451 *f.*
Gezer, 142 *f.*, 283, 293, 327, 343, 404.
Gibbon, 65 *n.*
Gibbôrîm or *Bravos*, 346 *ff.*; 'House of the G,' 198.
Gibeon, 123.
Gideon, 327, 400.
Gihon, 83, 101, 102, 107, 108, 138, 175, 198, 225.
Gilead, 321, 402.
Gladstone, J. H., on Bronze in the O.T., 330 *n.*
Glaisher on meteorology of Jerusalem, 19 *n.*, 77 *n.*
Goats, 321.
Gôlah, the, 380.
Gold, 327, 340.
Golden Gate. *See* Gates of the Temple.
Golgotha, 48.
Goliath's Castle, 48, 128, 240.
Government and Police, Book II. ch. ix.
Governor of the City, 379, 383 *f.*; Roman G. of Judæa, 413.
Grätz, 418.
Gray, G. B., *Hebrew Proper Names*, 255 *n.*; *Numbers*, 358 *n.*, 360 *n.*, 386 *n.*
Great Scarp, the, 212. *See* Maudslay.
Great Sea, the, 120.
Great Tower on S.W. Hill, 127-38.
Greek influence on Jewish architecture, 131, 141, 192, 217, 233; on fish-curing, 318; on trade, 371; on Jewish institutions, 395 *ff.*, 398, 400, 436, 453 *f.*
Greek Names for Jerusalem, 250, 252, 259 *ff.*
Greek Period, 135, 141, 361 *ff.*, 365, 371 *f.*, 381.
Greek Notices of Jerusalem, 372 *f.*, 389 *f.*, 395 *ff.*
Greek Version of the Law, 390.
Grill, J., 250 *n.*
Grimm, 263.

Guthe, Prof. H., Excavations on Ophel, 140, 198, 226 *ff.*; on different kinds of ancient masonry, 227 *f.*; on cisterns, 121; on site of Ṣion, 167. The following references are mostly to his reports of his excavations in *Z.D.P.V.*, and his art. 'Jerusalem' in Hauck's *R.E.*: 76, 76 *n.*, 79 *n.*, 88 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 90 *n.*, 97, 103 *n.*, 104 *n.*, 106 *n.*, 107 *n.*, 108 *n.*, 111 *n.*, 112 *n.*, 130 *n.*, 139 *f.*, 143, 160 *n.*, 166 *f.*, 172 *n.*, 177, 181, 186 *n.*, 188 *n.*, 189 *n.*, 191 *n.*, 197 *n.*, 198, 198 *n.*, 205, 212, 213 *n.*, 219 *n.*, 221, 222 *n.*, 226 *n.*, 227, 243 *n.*, 247 *n.*, 267 *n.*

Hadrian, 163, 185, 218, 240, 241, 271.
Hag-Gai. *See* Gai.
Haggai, the Prophet, 17, 313, 381.
Hamath, 62.
Hammam esh-Shefâ, 51, 58, 84, 120.
Hammeah, tower of, 201.
Hanane'el, tower of, 201.
Hanani, 383.
Hananiah, 383.
Ḥaram esh-Sherîf, the, 34, 40, 46, 51, 54, 55, 117, 139, 143, 185, 190, 192 *f.*, 199, 200, 230, 231, 238.
Ḥaret ed-Dawâyeh, 242.
Ḥaret el-Birkeh, 116.
Harper, W. R., 360 *n.*
Harsith. *See* Gates of the City.
Hārūt and Mārūt, 73.
Ḥasîdîm, the, 401 *ff.*
Hasmonean kings, 154, 159 *f.*, 217, 241, 313, 348, 350, 408, 441.
Hasselquist, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 320.
Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, 52 *n.*, 54 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 109 *n.*, 137 *n.*, 142 *n.*, 156 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 167 *n.*, 168 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 212 *n.*, 246 *n.*, 267 *n.*, 330, 330 *n.*, 406 *n.*, 409 *n.*, 429 *n.*
Hauck's *Real-Encyclopædie*, 79 *n.*, 88 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 97 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 108 *n.*, 112 *n.*, 130 *n.*, 139 *n.*, 160 *n.*, 172 *n.*, 186 *n.*, 191 *n.*, 197 *n.*, 205 *n.*, 219 *n.*, 226 *n.*, 243 *n.*, 247 *n.*, 267 *n.*
Haupt, 250 *n.*, 253 *n.*, 254 *ff.*; on the name Jerusalem, 254 *n.*, 255 *n.*
Ḥauran, 321.
Ḥazor, 343.
Head, *Historia Numorum*, 406 *n.*, 407 *n.*, 410 *n.*, 414 *n.*
Heber, Association or Commonwealth of the Jews, 408 *f.*
Hebron, 10; a desert port, 14, 311; roads, 124; earthquake at, 65; export of wheat, 314.
Hecatæus of Abdera, 261 *n.*, 361, 362 *n.*, 365, 389 *f.*, 395 *n.*
Hecataus, Pseudo, 362.
Helena, Queen, of Adiabene, 244 *f.*, 317.
Henderson, Dr. Archibald, 165.
Hermon, 331.
Herod the Great, his buildings, Low Level Aqueduct, etc., 129 *ff.*; in Jerusalem, 163; tower, Phasael, 191 *f.*; Temple, 192 and 231 *ff.*; line of City wall across Tyropœon, 223 *f.*; imports of corn, 315, 317; financed by Nabateans, 328, and by Jews of the Diaspora, 371; tolls, 341; market-tax, 344; mercenaries, 348 *f.*; servants, 350; character of government, 412 *f.*; troubles with *multitude* and treatment of them, 442 *ff.*; trial and execution of his sons, 443 *ff.* Also 27, 415 etc.
Herod Antipas, the Tetrarch, 342, 427; and the Sanhedrin, 415; and John Baptist, 454.
Herod Agrippa. *See* Agrippa I.
Herod Archelaus. *See* Archelaus.
Herod of Chalcis, 430.
Herod's Gate, 239.
—— Palace, 128.
Herodeion, 130.
Herodian period, 191, 217.
Hezekiah, 81, 86, 102 *f.*, 105, 131, 140, 156, 175, 182, 203, 207, 241, 323, 348.
Hezekiah's Wall, 207.
—— Pool, 115.
—— Cistern, 118. *See* Pool of the Virgin.
Hides, 372; fell to the priests, 359, 363.
High Priest, 366, 390 *f.*, 393 *f.*, 398 *f.*; the Anointed, 381, 386 *ff.*, 394; his

civil power, 381 *f.*, 386, 393 *f.*, 404 *f.*, 414 *f.*, 423; responsible for the taxes, 394, 399, 440 *f.*
High Level Aqueduct, 127, 128, 130.
Hilderscheid, on the rainfall at Jerus., 19 *n.*, 77 *n.*; on the climate, 79 *n.*
Hill, G. F., and Mary Hill, Eng. trans. of *Jewish Coins*, 406 *n.*
Hill of Evil Counsel, 31, 53.
—— of Offence, 53.
Hinnom, Valley of, 38, 46, 49, 56, 241, Book I. chap. vii. *See also* Gai.
Hippicus, the tower, 240, 242, 243, 243 *n.*, 244 *f.*
Hittites and horses, 324.
Hölscher, *Palästina in der pers. u. hellenist. Zeit*, 396 *n.*
Holy City (the name), 269.
—— Sepulchre, 48, 248, 249.
Homer, on the Solymi, 262; on the Phrygians, 324.
Hommel, *Alt-Isr. Ueberlieferung*, 172 *n.*; *Geog. u. Gesch. des Alt. Orients*, 331 *n.*; *Geog. Vorderasiens*, 299 *n.*
Honey, 306.
Horim, the cave-men, 283.
—— the free-born Jews, 383.
Hornstein, Dr., 92, 103.
Horses, import of, 308, 322, 324 *f.*, 340.
Horse-Gate. *See* Gates of City.
Hort, 264.
Hosea, 356, 369.
Hoskins, 286 *n.* *See* Libbey.
Huddleston, Professor, 52 *n.*
Hudson on Josephus, 425 *n.*
Hull, Professor, *P.E.F. Memoir on Geology*, etc., 52, 78 *n.*
Huram-abi, 331.
Hyksos, the, 324.
Hyperetai, 423.
Hyrcanus I., or John Hyrcanus, 131, 160, 163, 194, 348, 408 *f.*, 410.
—— II., 194, 410 *f.*, 442.
—— son of Tobias, 365.

Ibn Jobair, 344.
—— Tahîr, 65.
Idrisi, 173, 331 *n.*
Idumeans, subdued by Hyrcanus I., 409; Idumean force in Jerus., 433.
Imhoof-Blumer, on Jewish coins, 406 *n.*
Imports of Jerusalem, 314, Book II. chap. v.
Incense, 333.
Industries of Jerusalem, 335, 372 *f.*, Book II. chap. viii.
Inscription from Herod's Temple, 425.
—— in Siloam Tunnel, 94.
Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, 319 *n.*
Iron in Lebanon, Palestine and Arabia, 331 *f.*
Isaac Chelo, 145 *n.*
Isaiah, 104 *n.*, 147, 347, 378.
Ish-bosheth, 315.
Ishmaelites, 320, 323, 327.

Jabbok, remains of iron mines, 332.
Jacob, 343.
Jaffa Gate. *See* Gates of City.
Jason, or Jeshua, High Priest (175 B.C.), 399.
Jebel Deir Abû Tor, 31, 32, 42, 44, 126.
Jebel el-Fureidîs, 130.
Jebel 'Osha, 14.
Jebel Usdum, 319.
Jebus, 266.
Jebusites, 135, 137 *f.*, 140, 227, 266.
Jehoiakim, 346.
Jehoshaphat, 387.
Jehoshua, the Priest, 381.
Jeremiah, 148 *f.*, 330, 332, 356, 369, 378 *f.*, 438.
Jeremiah's Grotto, 54.
Jericho, trade and trade routes, 14, 315, 318, 341, 368; assembly at, 444.
Jerome, 17 *n.*, 62, 64 *n.*, 65 *n.*, 116, 144 *n.*, 163, 173, 176, 264, 271 *n.*
Jêrûd and the Kali plant, 320.
Jeshua, chief priest in 68 A.D., 433.
Jesus ben-Sira, 371, 375, 391, 397.
Jesus Christ, God and Man, 5 *f.*; and Jerusalem, 7; Nazareth His *Patris*, 294; the olive and olive trees, 302; vines and vineyards, 303; on Galilee, 371; does not refer to any handicraft, 375; His birth under Herod, 413; boyhood and ministry under Rome, 413 *ff.*; on the Council, 415; haunted by the Sanhedrin, 416 *f.*; His arrest on Olivet, 426; on the Temple-

tax, the tribute-money, and several coins, 429 *f.*; political conditions during His ministry, 452 *ff.*; His relations with *the multitude*, 454 *f.*
Jewish cemetery, 41.
Jewish Encyclopædia, 397 *n.*, 419.
Jewish institutions, Book II. chap. ix.; their destruction and restoration, 398 *ff.*
Jewish Revolt, First, 270, 406, 432 *ff.*, 452; Second, 434.
Jews as traders, 370 *ff.*
Joash, King, 206, 352 *f.*
Joazar, High Priest, 446.
Joel, 370, 389.
John the Baptist, 349.
John Hyrcanus, 194, 408. *See* Hyrcanus I.
John, the Maccabean, 400.
John (a commander of the Jews, 69 A.D.), 433.
Johns, C. H. W., *Babylonian and Assyrian Law Contracts and Letters*, 328 *n.*, 345 *n.*, 352 *n.*, 353 *n.*, 354 *n.*
John's Gospel, 426.
Jonathan, son of Saul, 109, 111.
Jonathan, the Maccabean, 157, 194, 228, 393, 400, 403 *f.*, 441.
Jordan, 63, 315, 317.
Joret el-Ḳamḥ, 298.
Joseph (son of Jacob), 345.
Joseph, son of Tobias, 368.
Joseph of Jerusalem, 368.
Josephus, many questions as to his accuracy, 87, 129 *ff.*, 135 *f.*, 224, 231, 395, 399 *n.*, 403 *n.* 1, 418 *ff.*, 452; on 'The City of David,' 135, 161 *ff.*; on the Ḳidron or Kedron, 45, 81; on the building of the Temple, 192, 231 *ff.*; does not mention Hinnom, 172; his Three Walls, 181 *ff.*, 201, 205, 241 *ff.*; on the East City Wall, 235; use of the names Ierousalemē and Hierosolyma, 260 *ff.*; his economic information, 277; his appointment by the Sanhedrin to Galilee, 432; his government there, 452. For references to particular passages in Josephus's works, *see* Special Index at end of vol. ii.
Josiah, 174, 379.
Jost, 418.
Jotham, King, 102, 153, 207.
Journal of Biblical Literature, 226 *n.*, 240 *n.*
Judæa, and the Desert, 3; timber in, 17, 305 *f.*; earthquakes, 63 *ff.*; settlement of nomads, 286; natural resources, 297 *ff.* (Bk. II. ch. iv.); famous for its olives, 299, 301, 315, 335, vines, 303, and figs, 304; its pastures, 307; suitable only for smaller cattle, 307, 321; late introduction of horse, mule and camel, 322 *ff.*; unsuitable for chariots, 325; want of minerals, 327 *ff.*, and of volcanic rocks, 52, 333; export of wool, 333 *ff.*, 375; brought under Rome, 411; power of Sanhedrin over, 415 *f.*; under Herod Agrippa, 427; raided by Simon, 433.
Judæa, Roman province of, 341, 368, 446; constitution of, 413 *ff.*; coins of early Procurators, 414; Roman soldiers in, 426; direct Roman administration interrupted from 41 A.D., 427; resumed in 44 A.D., 428; Procurators till 66 A.D., 428 *ff.*; their coins, 429.
Judah. *See* Judæa.
Judas Aristobulus, 409.
Judas Maccabeus, 13, 157, 194, 398, 400 *f.*, 402.
Judas Iscariot, 426.
Judas of Gamala, 446.
Judas, teacher of the law, 445.
Julia Agrippina, 414.
Julian, Emperor, 65, 263.
Jupiter Capitolinus, temple to, 163.
Justinian, Emperor, 65.
Justin Martyr, 163 *n.*
Juvenal, 263.

KABATNIK, MARTIN, 1492 A.D., his notices of Jerusalem, 298, 304, 372.
Ḳahal, Ecclesia, Congregation or Assembly—under Nehemiah, 383 (cf. 440); under the Ptolemies, 389, 391, 440 *f.*; in Ecclesiasticus, 401 *f.*, 441; under Simon, 404, 441 *f.* *See* further under Assembly.
Ḳala'at (or Ḳaṣr) Jalûd, 48, 240.
Ḳautszch on 'The Servant of the King,' 349 *n.*
Kedron (the Greek spelling of the name). *See* Ḳidron (the Hebrew).

Keil, 418.
Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, 416 *n.*
Kennedy, Prof. A. R. S., 317 *n.*; on the money of the Jews, 330, 406 *n.*, 429 *n.*, 430 *n.*; on the term Ḥeber, 408.
Kerak, 11, 14, 315.
Kersten, O., on the climate, 18 *n.*
Kesrouan, 366.
Khallet el-Ḳasabe, 16.
Khallet et-Ṭarḥa, 16.
Ḳidron, the, 10, 15, 16, 22, 38, 40, 42, 57, 60, 64, 80 *ff.*, 83, 90, 104, 136 *f.*, 139, 170, 173, 196, 198, 208, 227, 236 *f.*, 285, 287.
Kimchi, D., on Gihon, 107; on Hinnom, 173, 174 *n.*
King's Gardens, the, 226.
—— Pool, the, 106, 197, 198.
Klaiber, Dr., on Ṣion=East Hill, 167, 168 *n.*
Knowling, on Acts i. 4, 263 *n.*
Kuë or Cilicia, 324.
Kuemmel, August, *Materialien zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*, 33 *n.*, 41 *n.*, 76, 97 *n.*, 114 *n.*, 117 *n.*, 120 *n.*, 139 *n.*, 213 *n.*, 219 *n.*, 224 *n.*, 229 *n.*, 235 *n.*, 246 *n.*, 247 *n.*
Kuemmel's Karte, 126 *n.*, 127 *n.*, 213 *n.*
Kuenen on the rise of the Jewish senate, 395; on the composition of the Sanhedrin, 419, 419 *n.*

Lachish, 207.
Lacus Legerii, 116.
Lagarde, 144; *Onomastica Sacra*, 144 *n.*, 258 *n.*
Lagrange, Père Joseph, on the Virgin's Fountain, 89 *n.*; on Ṣion=East Hill, 164 *n.*, 168.
Lake of Galilee, 317 *f.*, 322.
Land tenure in Israel, 277, 279 *ff.*; under the Turks, 280.
Lartet, Louis, works on the geology of Palestine, 51, 51 *n.*, 78 *n.*
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 318, 322, 339, 344, 346, 353.
Lead, 332.
Lebanon, discoveries of prehistoric man in, 283
Lebanons, the, earthquakes in, 62; iron in, 331.
Legion, the, 454.
Legionary camp at Jerusalem, 164, 185, 241.
Le Strange, Guy, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 65 *n.*, 145 *n.*, 265 *n.*, 301 *n.*
Levites and Priests, 355, 357 *f.*, 362 *f.*, 384, 387 *ff.*, 424 *f.*
Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 109 *n.*; *Neuhebräisches W.*, 267 *n.*
Lewin, Thomas, *Jerusalem*, 166, 231 *n.*
Libbey and Hoskins, *The Jordan Valley and Petra*, 286 *n.*, 306 *n.*
Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der N. Semitischen Epigraphik*, 95 *n.*
Liftâ, springs at, 123.
Limestone strata at Jerusalem, 52 *ff.*
Lishkath hag-Gāzîth, 420 *f.*
Lortet, Paul, 52 *n.*
Lower Pool, 105, 115.
Low Level Aqueduct, 113, 125 *ff.*, 129.
Luke, St., 428, 456.
Lysanias, the Tetrarch, 427, 431.

Maaseiah, governor of Jerus., 379.
Ma'aser. *See* Tithes.
Macalister, Mr. R. A. Stewart, discoveries at Gezer, 69, 73 *n.*, 142, 283, 327; on 'Ain el-Khanduk, 87 *n.*; on flint weapons at various sites, 284 *n.*; on Abraham's vineyard, 300 *n.*; on wheat-stores, 316 *n.*; on inscribed jar-handles, 373 *n.*; corn-rubbers, 310.
Maccabean period, 135, 151, 156, 194.
Maccabees, the, 131, 159, 225, 313, 341, 348, 384 *ff.*, 392 *ff.*, 400, 441; books of, 172, 392 *f.*, 397, 405.
Maccabeus. *See* Jonathan, Judas and Simon.
Macdonald, George, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, 407 *n.*, 410 *n.*, 414 *n.*, 430 *n.*, 431 *n.*
Machærus, 14.
Maclean, *Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac*, 293 *n.*
Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 271 *n.*, 406 *n.*, 407 *n.*, 408 *n.*, 410 *n.*,

412 *n.*, 413 *n.*, 414 *n.*, 427 *n.*, 430 *n.*, 434 *n.*
'Made Pool,' the, 198.
Mahanaim, 315.
Maḥmud ibn Kilawûn, 130 *n.*
Maimonides, his *Beth hab-Bechereh* quoted, 420, 422.
Malachi, 382.
Mamilla Pool, 114, 115, 131.
Manasseh, King, 153, 156, 175, 208, 209, 237, 325.
Manetho, 261 *n.*, 262.
Marcus Agrippa, 443.
Mariamne, Tower, 242.
Marino Sanuto, 218.
Mark Antony, 412.
Marquart, on the name Jerusalem, 250 *n.*
Marsus, legate, 428.
Marti, Commentary on Isaiah, 104 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 226 *n.*
Martial and the name Solyma, 263.
Masonry of walls of Jerusalem, 190, 214-22, 227-30, 232 *f.*, 236, 238 *f.*
Masterman, Dr., on climate and health of City, 21 *n.*; on the waters of Jerusalem, 76, 80 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 91 *f.*, 98 *n.*, 103, 108 *n.*, 110, 113 *n.*, 116, 117 *n.*, 118.
Mattathiah or Antigonus, 412.
Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, 400 *f.*
Matthew, 342, 344, 416 *f.*, 423.
Matthias (teacher of the law), 445.
Maudslay, Henry, 181, 212.
Maudslay's Scarp, 138, 212 *f.*, 214, 218, 241.
Maundrell, *Journey* (1697), 73 *n.*
Medeba, map of, 270.
Mediterranean basin, 3; and tidal waves, 72; coast, 317, 336; peoples, 302.
Megiddo, 343.
Melander, on *Aceldama*, 176.
Menander of Ephesus, 261 *n.*, 263 *n.*
Menelaus, High Priest, 399.
Mercenary garrisons in Jerusalem, 346 *f.* *See* Gibborim.
Merrill, Consul Dr. Selah, on Ṣion, 165; on the Walls, 213, 213 *n.*, 240 *n.*; on the Third Wall, 246 *n.*; on the name Jerusalem, 258 *n.*
Merzbacher on Jewish coins, 406 *n.*
Mesopotamia, 324.
Metals, 3, 309, 327, 372.
Micah, 147, 356.
Michmash, 14, 403.
Midianites, 320.
Migdal 'Edher, 287.
Migrash, 290 *f.*, 314.
Mills and Millers, 375 *f.*
Milton on Hinnom, 176.
Mishmĕrôth, 384.
Mishna, the, on climate of Palestine, 78; apiculture, 307; on priests' dues, 361; on the Sanhedrin and its place of meeting, 415 *ff.*, 420; on the Temple officers, 424; on various moneys, 429 *f.* For references to passages in the Mishna, *see* Special Index, end of vol. ii.
Mishneh, the (or Second City), 201, 202.
Mitchell, Dr. H. G., on Ṣion, 167, 168 *n.*; on the Valley Gate, 178; on the Walls of Nehemiah, 196 *n.*, 197 *n.*, 198 *n.*, 199 *n.*, 219 *n.*, 221.
Mithridatic Wars, 68.
Mittheillungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina Vereins, 286 *n.*, 303 *n.*, 309 *n.*, etc. etc.
Mizpeh, 401.
Moab, visible from Jerus., 11, 25; settlers in, 286; wheat, 314; pasture, 321.
Modein, 401.
Mo'ed or Diet, 387; translated by Boulé in the LXX., 390, 390 *n.*
Mohammedan quarter of City, 33; period, 241.
Mommert, Carl, *Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*, 82 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 99 *n.*, 137 *n.*, 165.
Montroyal, 342.
Moore, G. F., *Judges* and *Enc. Bibl.*, 267 *n.*, 347 *n.*
Moses, 387, 389.
Mosque of Omar, 295, 354.
Mount Gilead, 321.
'Mount Moriah,' 150, 267.
Mount of Olives, 11, 14, 17, 27, 31, 32, 39, 44, 54, 304, 451.
—— Nebo, 14.
—— Ṣion, Book I. ch. vi. *See* Ṣion.
Muḳaddasi, 65, 173, 305, 306.

Mukhneh, plain of, 298, 314.
Mules, 308, 322, 326 *f.*
Mülinen, Graf. von, on land tenure in Palestine, 280 *n.*
Müller, Karl (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*), 69 *n.*, 68 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 262 *n.*, 315 *n.*, 365 *n.*, 389 *n.*
—— W. Max, *Asien u. Europa*, 312 *n.*, 328 *n.*; Artt. 'Camel,' 'Egypt,' etc., in *Enc. Bibl.*, 323, 323 *n.*, 324, 324 *n.* (*bis*); on mules in Egypt, 326 *n.*
Multitude, the, 432 *f.*, Book II. ch. x.; the Greek terms, 435, 442; and Herod, 442 *ff.*; and the Romans, 442, 446 *ff.*; and Jesus, 454; in Acts, 455.
Muristan, the, 115, 203.
Muṣri, 324, 340.
Myres, J. L., on precious stones, 330 *n.*

Nabateans, 313, 319, 328.
Nâblus, 39, 314.
Naḥal defined, 171.
—— the, 81, 102. *See also* Ḳidron.
Nahr el-'Aṣi, 73.
Names for the City, Book I. ch. x.
Nâsir-i-Khusrau, 65, 173, 301.
Natural resources of Jerusalem, Book II. ch. iv.
Nature, 330 *n.*
Nazareth, 294.
Nazarites, 401.
Nebuchadrezzar, 196, 208.
Nehemiah, 86, 111, 150, 152, 156, 177, 182, 193, 195, 208, 209, 227, 292, 317, 350, 357 *f.*, 370, 381, 382 *ff.*, 387 *f.*, 393, 398, 400, 404; his administration, 382 *ff.*; his description and restoration of walls, 195 *ff.*, 209, 227.
Nehemiah's well or spring, 74, 98, 111.
Neolithic races, 284.
Neopolitanus, a Roman emissary, 432.
Nero, the Emperor, 431.
Nĕsî'îm, the, or princes, 387, 394, 398.
Nestle, Dr. Eb., 250 *n.*, 251 *n.*, 253 *n.*, 255, 258 *n.*, 259 *n.*, 303 *n.*, 408 *n.*
Neubauer, Dr., 173 *n.*
Nicolaus of Damascus, 67, 68.
Nicolaus, 446.
Niese, Dr. B., 104 *n.*, 260 *n.*
Nikophorieh, the, 26, 56.
Nisan, the month, 339.
Nojûm ez-Zahîreh, 342 *n.*
Nöldeke, 259 *n.*
North Walls of City, 47, 239, 241 *ff.*
North-west Hill, 35, 47, 128, 189.
Nubia, 327.
Nuḥashshi, the land of, 331.

Octroi duties, 343.
Officials of Jerusalem, 377 *ff.*
Og's bedstead, 332 *n.*
Oil, use for export and exchange, 301, 335, 340; use in Christian metaphor, 302.
Olive, the, its place in the history of Jerusalem, 4, 299 *ff.*, 315.
Olivet. *See* Mount of Olives.
Onias, High Priest, 399, 440.
Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome, 164, 173, 264, 271 *n.*
'Ophel, the, or 'Swelling,' history of the name, 152 *ff.*; probably a synonym for Ṣion, 153; wall round it, 102, 156, 208 *f.*, 227, 230.
Ophel, modern conventional name for the East Hill south of the Haram area, 15, 34, 46, 91, 118, 121, 139 *ff.*, 142 *ff.*, 185, 198 *f.*, 210, 212, 222, 226 *f.*, 229 *f.*; towers on, 229, 241, 287.
Ophlas, 153.
Ordnance Survey Map, 126 *n.*; Plans, 211 *n.*
Origen, 164.
Orontes, 67 *n.*, 72, 73.

Palæolithic races in Palestine, 284.
Palmyra, 320; tariff of, 342.
Paris, Gaston, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, 264 *n.*
Parthians take Jerusalem, 40 B.C., 412.
Paton, Prof. Lewis B., on the gate between the Two Walls, 226 *n.*; *Early History of Syria*, etc., 284 *n.*
Patris (the Greek word), 294.

Paul and tent-weaving, 375; mission to Damascus, 415; danger in the Temple, 424 *n.*, 455.
Pausanias and the name Solyma, 263.
P. E. F. = Palestine Exploration Fund, preface, 52, 210 *ff.*; and see following also: Bliss, Clermont-Ganneau, Conder, Dickie, Macalister, Schick, Warren, Wilson, etc.
—— maps, 18 *n.*, 31 *n.*, 125 *n.*, 128 *n.*, 130 *n.*, 189 *n.*, 300 *n.*; plans of Jerusalem, 211 *n.*
—— *Memoirs*, 31 *n.*, 33 *n.*, 34 *n.*, 52, 76 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 80 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 90 *n.*, 93 *n.*, 98 *n.*, 100 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 107 *n.*, 109 *n.*, 116 *n.*, 117 *n.*, 120 *n.*, 121 *n.*, 139 *n.*, 191 *n.*, 192 *n.*, 211 *n.*, 212 *n.*, 231 *n.*, 238 *n.*, 242 *n.*, 243 *n.*
P. E. F. Q. = Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly Statement*, 12 *n.*, 18 *n.*, 19 *n.*, 20 *n.*, 52 *n.*, 69 *n.*, 73 *n.*, 77 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 80 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 88 *n.*, 92 *n.*, 93 *n.*, 95 *n.*, 96 *n.*, 107 *n.*, 114 *n.*, 118 *n.*, 119 *n.*, 120 *n.*, 121 *n.*, 128 *n.*, 129 *n.*, 142 *n.*, 145 *n.*, 156 *n.*, 167 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 187 *n.*, 190 *n.*, 202 *n.*, 204 *n.*, 212 *n.*, 213 *n.*, 214 *n.*, 239 *n.*, 240 *n.*, 246 *n.*, 280 *n.*, 283 *n.*, 295 *n.*, 300 *n.*, 309 *n.*, 312 *n.*, 330 *n.*, 374 *n.*, 376 *n.*, 425 *n.*
Pehah, or Persian governor, 382 *f.*
People, the political and religious powers of the, 383; under Nehemiah, 440; under the High Priests, 440; under the Maccabees, 441; under the Hasmoneans, 442; under Herod, 442; feeling against images, 442; devotion to the law, 444; desire for freedom, 448.
Peræa, 415.
Perichōros (the Greek word), 293.
Persians, the, 186, 313, 339, 345, 350, 380, 383, 394, 395.
Perthes, Justus, 300 *n.*
Petra, 341.
Petronius, legate, 428, 448 *f.*
Phagir, 124.
Pharisees, the, 408, 410, 416, 447, 452.
Phasael, tower, 191, 233, 240, 242, 243.
Philip the Tetrarch, 344, 427, 431.
Philistia, its wheat-fields, 298.
Philo Judæus, quoted on names for Jerus., 261 *n.*, 270, 270 *n.*; apiculture, 307 *n.*; the priesthood and their dues, 361 *n.*, 362, 362 *n.*; temple tax, 364 *n.*, and guards, 424 *n.*; on Petronius and *the multitude*, 449 *n.*
Philo of Byzantium, on military architecture, 187 *n.*
Phœnicians, 141, 228, 316, 317, 318, 324, 328, 331, 334, 341, 369 *f.*
Photius, 261 *n.*, 262 *n.*, 431 *n.*
Phrouriarch (title), 426.
Phrygia, earthquakes, 68, 72 *n.*; horses, 324.
Phylarchs, 341.
Pierotti, Signor Em., *Jerusalem Explored*, 76, 76 *n.*, 83 *n.*, 84, 211 *n.*
Pigments, 372.
Pilate, 448.
Pilgrim of Bordeaux, 264.
Pilgrims to Jerusalem, provision for, 276, 318, 370.
Pliny, the elder, *Historia Naturalis*, on earthquakes, 62, 64 *n.*, and springs, 67, 67 *n.*, and tidal waves, 72 *n.*, 73 *n.*; name Hierosolyma, 261, 261 *n.*; incense, 333; imperial customs, 341, 341 *n.*
Plutarch, 261 *n.*
Polybius, 62, 261 *n.*, 426, 426 *n.*
Polychrome Bible, 67 *n.* *See also* Furness, Haupt, and *S. B. O. T.*
Polyhistor, Alexander, 84, 315 *n.*
Pompey, 18, 162, 194, 237, 310, 442.
Pontius Pilate, 127, 129.
Pool Mamilla, 128.
—— of Hezekiah, 202.
—— of Israel, 117.
—— of the Patriarch's Bath, 114 *f.*, 117, 128, 202.
—— of the Shelah, 106.
—— of Siloam, 55, 119, 186, 198, 221.
—— of the Towers, 115.
—— of the Tribes, 118.
—— of the Virgin, 118.
Pools at St. Anne's, 118.
—— north of the City, 119.
—— of Solomon, 376.

Poseidon, 72.
Posidonius (Poseidonius) of Apamea, on earthquakes, 72 *n.*; on name Hierosolyma, 261 *f. n.*
Prâtorius, F., on name Jerusalem, 250 *n.*, 259 *n.*
Precious stones, 330.
Priestly Code, 109, 110, 353, 358 *ff.*, 360 *n.*, 364, 386 *f.*; constitution of Israel, 385 *f.*
Priests of the Temple, their houses, 198 *f.*; economic questions, 276; provision for, 276, 351; their share of the sacrifices, in Deuteronomy, 354 *f.*, Priestly Code, 358 *f.*, in Herod's Temple, 362 *ff.*; their revenues before Exile, 352 *ff.*, 356; after Exile, 357, 359, 363 *f.*; the Priestly tithe, 357 *f.*; their trade and finance, 360, 365. Generally *see* Book II. chap. vii., 'Temple Revenues, Properties and Finance.' Number of priests at Jerusalem in Greek period, 361 *f.*; their distinction from Levites after the Exile, 357; their civil power, 381; under Nehemiah, 385 *f.*; in Chronicles, 387 *f.*; in Greek period, 389 *f.*; under the Maccabees, 402 *ff.*; under the Sanhedrin, 420 *f.*; their duties as Temple guards, 424; their action in revolts against Rome, 432 *ff.*
Prisons, 379, 423.
Prochyta, island of, 72.
Procurator, title of, 413.
Procurators, government by, 350, 427 *f.*, 448 *f.* *See* Judæa, Roman Province of.
Prophets, the, 437.
Proverbs, Book of, 389.
Psephinus, tower, 11, 240, 244, 245.
Pseudo-Aristeas, the, 85, 160 *n.*, 301, 332, 361, 373, 390, 440.
Ptolemais, 448.
Ptolemies, the, favourable to the Jews, 395; conserved the hereditary high-priesthood, 398 *f.*
Ptolemy I., Lagi (323-285 B.C.), 195.
Ptolemy II., Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.), 390 *f.*, 440 (in Pseudo-Aristeas).
Ptolemy III., Euergetes I. (246-221 B.C.), 440 *f.* It is probable that this should be Ptolemy IV. or V.
Ptolemy IV., Philopator (221-204 B.C.), 368.
Ptolemy V., Epiphanes (204-181 B.C.), 368.
Ptolemy, the geographer, 271.
Publicans, 282, 341 *f.*, 368, 368 *n.*
Public reservoirs, 120.

Quaresmius, *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, 64 *n.*, 176 *n.* (*bis*).

Rabban Gamaliel III., 375.
Rabbat, possibly part of Egyptian name for Jerusalem, 268.
Rabbath Ammon, 14. *See* 'Ammân.
Rainfall of City, 19 *f.*, 77 *ff.*
Ramman-Nirari, King of Assyria, 331 *n.*
Râs el-'Ain, in Wâdy 'Arrub, 124 *f.*
Râs el-Maḳâbir, 126.
Râs el-Meshâref, 285.
Rashi, Jewish commentator, 107.
Rawlinson, George, *History of Phœnicia*, 318 *n.*
Real-Encyclopædie. *See* Hauck.
Records of the Past, 252 *n.*, 268 *n.*, etc.
Recovery of Jerusalem, quoted, 76, 80, 82, 89, 93, 103, 117, 120, 122, 126, 167, 173, 191, 192, 295, 210, 211, 212, 228, 229, 235, 236 *ff.*, 243, 247, *notes*, etc. etc.
Redemption moneys, 359, 363.
Red Sea, 328, 340.
Regillus Lake or Pool, 69.
Reinach, Theod., *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, 260 *n.*, 261 *n.*, 262 *n.*, 362 *n.*, 371 *n.*, 389 *n.*; *Jewish Coins* (trans. by Hill), 406 *n.*, 427 *n.*, 429 *n.*, 430 *n.*, 431 *n.*, 434 *n.*
Reland, 66 *n.*, 258 *n.*
Rephaim, 31, 303. *See* el-Buḳei'a.
Reservoirs in Jerusalem, 112, 119, 120; of Temple, 119 *f.*; public, 120; at ej-Jib, 123; Solomon's Pools, 124; in Wâdy 'Arrub, 125.
Revenues, Royal, Book II. chap. vi.; *also* 336.
Revenues of the Temple, Book II. chap. vii.; *also* 336.

Revolt of Jews against Rome, First, 431 *ff.*, 451 *f.*; Second, 434.
Rey, *Colonies Franques*, 18 *n.*, 342 *n.*
Ries, *Biblische Geographie*, 168 *n.*
Rindfleisch on the climate of Palestine, 78 *n.*
Ritter, Karl, *Compar. Geogr. of Palestine*, 51, 51 *n.*, 65 *n.*, 66 *n.*, 164, 300 *n.*, 307 *n.*
Robinson, Edward, on the geology, 50 *f.*; on the earthquakes, 61, 63; on the waters, 75; the Kidron, 80; Gihon, 83 *f.*; Siloam Tunnel, 93 *n.*; En-rogel, 111 *n.*; Ṣion, 135, 164 *f.*; Hinnom, 176 *n.*; Valley Gate, 177 *n.*; discovery of antiquities, 211 *n.*; on Third Wall, 246; on Genath, 243 *n.*; *Biblical Researches* quoted, 13 *n.*, 75 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 80 *n.*, 83 *n.*, 93 *n.*, 174 *n.*, 177 *n.*, 198 *n.*, 243 *n.*, 246 *n.*, 253 *n.*, 271 *n.*, 314 *n.*, 319 *n.*; *Later Biblical Researches*, 75 *n.*, 83 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 243 *n.*, 246 *n.*; *Physical Geography*, 51 *n.*, 61, 63, 65 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 316 *n.*; plan of Jerusalem, 211 *n.*
Rock dwellings, 141.
Rock tunnel, the, 38, 91 *f.*, 102.
Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geogr. Palæst.*, 52; *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, 62, 63 *n.*, 113 *n.*, 322 *n.*, 342 *n.*; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 113 *n.*, 116 *n.*, 264 *n.*, 318 *n.*, 319 *n.*, 344 *n.*, 353 *n.*; 113 *n.*, 116 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 264 *n.*, 318 *n.*, 319 *n.*, 322 *n.*, 342 *n.*, 344 *n.*, 353 *n.*
Romans, the, in Palestine, 217, 243, 339, 341, 342, 345, 348, 413 *f.*, 426, 446, 453. *See* Judæa, Roman Province of, Procurators, Revolts, Jewish.
Ross, Rev. D. M., *The Cradle of Christianity*, 95 *n.*
Royal administration of Jerusalem, 377 *ff.*
—— Caverns or Grottoes, 239, 244, 245.
—— Domains, 337.
—— Quarries, 33.
Rückert, *Die Lage des Berges Sion*, 147 *n.*, 165.
Russegger and the geology, 51.
Ryle, H., *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 167, 167 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 360 *n.*
Ryssel, on Book of Nehemiah, 167, 168 *n.*, 196 *n.*

Saadya, 259.
Sabbath, 371, 384, 400.
Saddok, a Pharisee, 446.
Sadducees, the, 408, 410, 447.
Sādeh or Sadôth, 290 *f.*, 314.
Safed, earthquake at, 65.
Ṣakhra rock, 85, 127, 154.
Ṣalt, 306, 318, 340.
Salt pans, 318.
Samaria, 315, 322, 349, 379, 428.
Sandie, Rev. George, *Horeb and Jerusalem*, 45 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 166, 166 *n.*, 237.
Sandstone, 52.
Sanhedrin or Synedrion, first appearance of the name, 411; Herod's treatment of it, 412, cf. 442 *ff.*; under the Romans, 413 *ff.*; extent of its jurisdiction, 415 *f.*; its treatment of our Lord, 416 *f.*; recent controversy about it, 418 *ff.*; Kuenen's opinion, 419; place of meeting, powers and composition, 419 *f.*; Büchler's theory of *two* Sanhedrins, 421 *f.*; its servants and instruments, 422 *f.*; in the war against Rome, 432, 452; and Stephen, 455. *See also* Council and Assembly.
Sanhedrins or Synedria, local ('Sanhedrins of the tribes'), 415, 415 *n.*, 417 *f.*, 418 *n.*
Sārim in Israel, 349, 383, 387, 394.
Saturninus, 444.
Sayce, Prof., on position of Ṣion, 167; on Hinnom, 175; on name of Jerusalem, 252 *n.*, 253 *n.*, 254 *n.*, 268 *n.*
Scopus, 11, 17, 27.
Shechem, 298.
Schechter and Taylor, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 391 *n.*
Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexikon*, 107 *n.*, 166 *n.*
Schick, Dr. Karl, 18 *n.*, 31 *n.*, 36 *n.*, 39 *n.*, 52 *n.*, 54 *n.*, 55 *n.*, 56 *n.*, 76, 76 *n.*, 80 *n.*, 88, 91, 103,

120 *n.*, 121 *n.*, 130, 165, 177 *n.*, 187 *n.*, 191 *n.*, 198 *n.*, 209, 213, 213 *n.*, 222 *n.*, 237 *f.*, 240, 240 *n.*, 243 *n.*, 247 *n.*
Schick and Benzinger, *Karte der näheren Umgebung von Jerus.*, 100 *n.*, 189 *n.*; *Karte der weiteren Umg. von Jerus.*, 125 *n.*, 300 *n.*
Schlatter, *Zur Topogr. u. Geschichte Palästinas*, 153 *n.*
Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.*, 252 *n.*
Schubert, von, and the geology, 51.
Schultz, E. G., *Jerusalem*, 83 *n.*, 202 *n.*, 246 *n.*
Schürer, Prof., 128 *n.*, 160 *n.*, 342 *n.*, 345 *n.*, 346 *n.*, 360 *n.*, 361, 362 *n.*, 366 *n.*, 371 *n.*, 399 *n.*, 406 *n.*, 408 *n.*, 409, 411 *n.*, 413 *n.*, 415, 416 *n.*, 419 *n.*, 420 *n.*, 424 *n.*, 427 *n.*, 431 *n.*
Schwarz, *Das Heilige Land*, 175, 175 *n.*
Scribes, 375.
Sealed Fountain, the, 124.
Second City, 201. *See* Mishneh.
Seetzen, *Reisen*, 51, 320.
Sĕgānim in Israel, 382 *f.*, 394, 424.
Ṣehyûn, 145. *See* Ṣion.
Seleucids, the, and the Maccabees, 13, 403; their fiscal measures, 313, 319, 339, 341, 345, 399.
Seleucus IV., 399.
Semites, 278, 285.
Semitic immigration, 283, 285 *ff.*
Senate or Gerousia of the Jews, 392 *f.*, 396 *ff.*, 404 *f.*, 411, 415 *n.*, 449. *See also* Council and Sanhedrin.
Sennacherib, 105, 323, 326, 348.
Septuagint, the name Ierousalem, 252, 259.
Sepulchres of David, 198.
Serpent's Pool, 114.
Severus, Emperor, 128.
Sha'fat, 31.
Sharon, 316, 338 *f.*
Sheep, 321.
Sheep-Gate. *See* Gates of City.
Sheep-pool, 117.
Shekels, originally weights, then pieces of silver, stamped by David, 309, 340; as Temple taxes, 357, 359, 364, and redemption money, 359; as coins, 405 *f.*; equivalent to Syrian staters or tetradrachms, 429 *f.*; of the Second Revolt, 434. Specimens—Plate IX. 8, X. 9.
Shephelah, 401.
Shera, mountains of, where alkali is collected, 320.
Shiloaḥ or Shilloaḥ, 101, 103, 104, 107. *See* Siloam.
Shishaḳ, King of Egypt, 352.
Shobek, deep well at, 85; Montroyal of the Crusaders, 342.
Shunem, the lady of, 367.
Sicarii, 432, 450 *f.*
Sidetes, Antiochus VII., 194.
Sidon, 416 *f.*; coins of, Plate IX.
Siege, strength of Jerusalem against, 15 *f.*, 32, 181; provision against, 15, 81, 86, 102 *ff.*, 106, 112, 120, 132, 175, 187 *f.*, 206 *ff.*, 391, 404. Also throughout Book I. ch. viii., on the Walls.
Siege of the Akra by Jonathan and Simon, 157 *f.*
Sieges of Jerusalem, their number, 8; destruction of timber in the environs, 18, 305; débris of, 33, 35 *f.*, 42, 189, 193, 238 *f.*, 248; by David, 144; by Nebuchadrezzar, 13, 196; by Antiochus VI., 194; by Antiochus VII., 131, 194, 406, 408; by Pompey, 18, 162, 194, 411; by Sosius and Herod, 163, 412; by Cestius, 244, 432; by Titus, 15, 18, 163, 182 *n.*, 224, 227, 242, 433.
Siloam, 35 *f.*, 46, 86, 153, 156, 175, 176, 182, 186, 198, 222, 224.
—— gardens of, 12.
—— pools of, 84, 85, 91; Lower, 98, 119; Upper, 97, 119.
—— tunnel, 93, 206, 207.
Silver, 329, 340.
Silwân, village of, 55, 109, 136, 141, 284.
Simon Maccabeus, 158, 195, 251, 270, 393, 400, 404 *ff.*, 441.
—— son of Onias (or Johanan), High Priest, 131, 195, 391, 399.
—— Bar Giora, 433.
Single Gate. *See* Gates of Temple.
Sion, Ophel and 'the City of David,' Book I. ch. vi.
Ṣion or Ṣîyôn, the name, its meaning

and derivation, 144 *f.*; originally applied to Jebusite stronghold on the East Hill, 144, 160, 168 (cf. 47); topogr. and arch. evidence for this, 138 *ff.*; Bibl. evidence, 144 *ff.*; probable site above Gihon, 106; replaced there by name 'David's Burgh' or 'City of David,' 146; extension over East Hill and application to the Temple-Mount, 147, 168 *f.*; alternative meaning for *all* the E. Hill, 148; ultimately equivalent to all Jerusalem, City and Temple, 147, 149; and to the nation or its spiritual nucleus, 149; use of the name avoided by Ezekiel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles (except for the Jeb. stronghold), 149 *ff.*; but Nehemiah's evidence conclusive that S. lay on E. Hill, 156; not used by Josephus, 161; S. synonymous with *the* '*Ophel* (*q.v.*), which name was perhaps used instead of it, 152 *ff.*, 161; in 1 Macc. S. = Temple Mt., 157; never applied to S.W. Hill by the O.T. or the Apocrypha, 151, 161; Origen regards it as = Temple Mt., 164; removal of the name to S.W. Hill by Christians of fourth century, 163 *f.*, cf. 134; archæol. and topogr. evidence against this, 137 *f.*; reasons for the transference, 164; persistence of the traditional Sion on S.W. Hill till to-day, 164 *f.* (cf. 47); re-identification of Sion with E. Hill by modern authorities, 165 *ff.*; conclusions from the evidence, 168 *f.*; appearance of the name on coins, 407, 434, Plate x. 6, 7, 8. *See also* Ṣahyun, Ṣehyun, Ṣiyhun.

Sion or 'the traditional Sion' (so spelt without dot under the S, when the Christian use of the name is intended), 35, 47, etc. etc. *See* Ṣion.

—— Gate. *See* Gates of the City under the Arabs.

—— Gate, 35, 134.

Sira, son of, 375, 390 *f.*, 397, 399.

Site of Jerusalem, Book I. ch. ii.; general permanence of, 44; under the Jebusites, 138, 140, 142 *f.*; under David, *see* Ṣion; under the later kings, Book I. ch. vii., also 181; impregnable on S.E. and W., 32, 181, 188; assailable only from N., 32, 181.

Smith, W. Robertson, 71 *n.*, 72 *n.*, 73 *n.*, 76 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 107 *n.*, 167, 175, 175 *n.*, 176, 197 *n.*, 202 *n.*, 231 *n.*, 247 *n.*, 289 *n.*, 329 *n.*, 339 *n.*, 360 *n.*, 419 *n.*, 436 *n.*; works quoted, art. 'Jerusalem,' *Enc. Brit.* and *Enc. Bibl.*; *Old Test. in the Jewish Church* and *Religion of the Semites*.

Smiths (weapon-), 311.

Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, 31 *n.*, 51 *n.*, 76 *n.*, 91 *n.*, 164 *n.*, 176 *n.*, 205 *n.*

Smyth, Admiral, *The Mediterranean*, 61, 72 *n.*

Soap, 320.

Socin, Prof., 95 *n.*, 117, 167, 176 *n.*

—— and Benzinger, Baedeker, *Handbook to S. Palestine*, 89 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 108 *n.*, 111 *n.*, 130 *n.*, 167 *n.*, 191 *n.*

Socrates, Church Historian, 64, 65 *n.*

Solomon, 109, 131, 135, 141, 155, 313, 315, 324, 326, 328, 331, 338 *ff.*, 343, 352, 369, 373; walls, 205, 208, 210; throne, 192, 237; his temple, 230, 233; Temple courts and palace, 134, 234, 352; his coronation, 108, 173.

Solomon's Pools, 124, 125, 131.

Sorek, 298.

Sosios, siege by, 163.

South Wall, 197.

South-west Hill, 35, 41, 47, 126, 128, 130, 134, 135 *ff.*, 182 *ff.*, 194, 205, 207 *f.*, 221, 241.

South-west Wall, 215.

Sozomen, 64, 65 *n.*

Spartans, letter to, 393.

Speira, the, 426.

Spenser's *Faërie Queene*, name Hierusalem, 264.

Spices, 333.

Springs or fountains, proper defined, 59; of Jerusalem, real and reputed, 82 *ff.*; outside Jerusalem, 123; in the Kidron Valley, 86. *See* Earthquakes.

St. Clair, G., 204 *n.*
St. Lazarus, house of, 344.
St. Stephen, 455.
St. Stephen's Gate, 237, 238.
Stade, Prof., 95 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 108 *n.*, 167, 177 *n.*, 203 *n.*
Stanley, Dean, 173 *n.*
Stark, *Gaza u. die philist. Küste*, 62.
Statius uses adjective Solymus, 263, 263 *n.*
Stewart, Dr., *The Land of Israel*, 165.
Stone, 309, 372.
Stone Age in Palestine, 283 *f.*
Stone-dressing. *See* Masonry.
Strabo, *Geography* quoted, 16 *n.*, 62, 64 *n.*, 66 *n.*, 67, 67 *n.*, 72 *n.*, 73 *n.*, 80, 87, 188 *n.*, 224, 261, 341, 371 *n.*, 372.
Strategoi of the Temple, 424 *f.*
Street of the Gate of Columns, 36.
Strouthion, the pool, 116.
Suetonius, 261, 261 *n.*
Suleiman ibn Selim, the Magnificent, 113, 130 *n.*, 184, 239.
Sultan's Pool, 113, 126.
Sûr Bâhir, 126.
Surenhusius, edition of the Mishna, 361 *n.*
Surface levels, Comparative Tables of, of East Hill and Kidron Valley, 40; of South-west Hill, and on W. er-Rababi, 41.
Surface Tanks, 112.
Survey Map, 139.
Swete, *Introd. to the O.T. in Greek*, 85 *n.*, 260 *n.*, 261 *n.*, 391 *n.*
Synagogē, Greek translation of *'Edah* in Ecclesiasticus, and equivalent to whole people, 391 *n.* 5; for the gathering or *congregation* of faithful Jews under Judas Maccabeus, 401 *n.*; for a national assembly or congregation under Simon, 404; to local Jewish courts in the Gospels, 417.
Syncellus, 195 *n.*
Synedria or Synodoi, fiscal divisions of Judæa by Gabinius, 411.
Synedrion. *See* Sanhedrin.
Synodoi, name given by Hecatæus to assemblies or councils of priests, 389; to the five districts, fiscal or judicial, into which Gabinius divided the Jewish territory, 411.
Syria, in geographical sense, 184; Semitic invasion of, 283; horses in, 324; mules, 326; export of wool, 334; Syrian slaves in Egypt, 312; Hellenised Syrians, 371.
—— Roman province, taxes, 339; Phylarchs on its border, 341; annexation of Judæa by Pompey, 411; by Augustus, 413, 446; legate of, 428, 432, 448 *f.*
—— or the Seleucid Kingdom. *See* Seleucid, Greek, etc.
—— and Syrian are also used in the Eng. version of the O.T. for Aram and Aramean. *See* Aram.
Syrian = Seleucid, 158, 160, 166, 227, 399.

Tacitus quoted, 64 *n.*, 85, 85 *n.*, 188, 188 *n.*, 261, 261 *n.*, 262 *n.*, 450 *n.*
Taffas, inscription at, 295.
Talmud, the, on 'En Etham, 130; Gehinnom, 173 *f.*; economic information, 277; Sabbath day's journey, 293; provision for the priests, 361 *n.* 1; on tax-gatherers, 368 *n.* 2; on the Sanhedrin, 418 *f.*, 422, and its place of meeting, 420 *n.* 2. For references to particular passages *see* Indices to vol. ii.
Talmudic literature, forms of name Jerusalem in, 251.
Tamar or Thamara, 343.
Tanks on Ophel, 118. *See* Cisterns and Reservoirs.
Tanṭûr, the hill, 128.
Targums, the, quoted, 172, 293.
Taricheae, 431.
Tarshish, 330.
Taxation, Book II. ch. vi.; indirect, 341; under Seleucids, Herod and Rome, 341 *f.*, 344, 404; under the Latins, 342, 344; in the O.T., 343 *f.*; direct, family, poll and property in the O.T., 345 *f.*; Persian and Seleucid, 345; Roman, 345 *f.*; Latin, 346; Ptolemaic, 348, 440 *ff.*; High Priest's responsibility for, 394, 399; management of taxes under Ptolemies and Seleucids by the Tobiadæ, 399, 440 *ff.* *See*

also Tithes, Tolls, Temple-tax, etc.
Taylor, 391 *n.*
—— Cylinder, 348 *n.*
Tekoa', 319.
Tell el-Ash'ari, inscription at, 295.
Tell el-'Amarna correspondence, 143, 252, 255, 288, 306, 323 *f.*, 329, 331 *n.*
Temple, 24, 25, 46, 127, 130, 146 *f.*, 199 *f.*; aqueducts to, 129; cisterns, 119 *ff.*; walls of, 230 *ff.*; discipline of, 423; estates of, 360.
—— area, 34, 46, 85, 125, 230.
—— Mount, 150, 151, 158, 194, 199, 208, 209, 236, 242, 433.
—— Spring, question of, 85.
—— Revenues, Properties and Finance, Book II. ch. vii.; 346, 351 *ff.*
—— as a banking centre, 354, 365.
—— Tax, 357, 359.
—— of Solomon, 230, 233.
—— Second, 231. *See* vol. ii. ch. iii.
Tenth Legion at Jerusalem, 115, 163.
Tero, case of, under Herod, 444.
Territory of the City, 288 *f.*
Tetrarch, title of, 412, 415.
Thackeray, H. St. J. (ed. of *Letter of Aristeas* in Swete's *Introduction to O.T. in Greek*), 85 *n.*, 261 *n.*, 301 *n.*, 327 *n.*, 333 *n.*, 361 *n.*, 373 *n.*, 391 *n.*
Thenius, *Bücher der Könige*, 155 *n.*
Theodoret, 155 *n.*
Theodoric, 264.
Theodosius II., 186.
Thermopylæ, hot springs at, 66.
Theudas, 449, 455.
Thomson, Dr. W. M., *The Land and the Book*, 78 *n.*, 80 *n.*, 83 *n.*, 111 *n.*, 298 *n.*, 306 *n.*
Thracians, 348.
Thrupp, Rev. J. F., *Antient Jerusalem*, 165, 165 *n.*, 231 *n.*, 246 *n.*
Tiberias, earthquake at, 65, 428, 431, 448.
Tiberius, Alexander, 428.
Timber in and round Jerusalem, 17, 305, 372. *See* Wood.
—— market, 17, 245.
Timochares on waters of Jerusalem, 84, 131, 261 *n.*
Tin, 333.
Tineius Clemens, consul 195 A.D., his name on High Level Aqueduct, 128.
Tithes, question of the king's, 338; religious tithes under Deuteronomy, 355; under the Priestly Code and Nehemiah, 358; tithe of cattle, 358; combination of these in later system, 363; the Second Tithe, 363 *n.*; under Judas Maccabeus, 401; collection of, by servants of High Priests, 423.
Titus, Emperor, 13, 18, 80, 86 *f.*, 114 *n.*, 115 *f.*, 163, 185 *ff.*, 193, 217, 223, 224, 227, 232, 234, 242 *f.*, 245, 248, 263, 365, 448, 433.
Tobiades, 399. *See* Taxes.
Tobiah, 360.
Tobler, T., *Topographie von Jerusalem*, 75 *n.*, 111 *n.*, 164; memoir to Van de Velde's Map, 211.
Togarmah, 324.
Tolls, 341 *ff.* *See* Taxes.
Tomb of Absalom, 40, 55.
—— of David, 134.
—— of Rachel, 127.
Tombs of the Kings, 39.
Topheth, 173, 176.
Topography of Jerusalem, Book I. ch. ii.
Torah, the, 401.
Toron, castle of, 342.
Torrey, Dr. C. C., on Nehemiah, 196 *n.*
Tosephta, Kethuboth, 251; Halla, 363. *See* Special Indices, vol. ii.
Tower of the Flock, 287.
—— of the Furnaces or Ovens, 204.
Towers in Palestine, 286; Towers of City, 178; tower that standeth out, 199, 229; tower on Ophel, 226; Tower II. of Dr. Bliss, 126. *See* Antonia, Hippicus, Mariamne, Phasael.
Tozer, *History of Ancient Geography*, 72 *n.*
Trade and traders, Book II. chs. v. and viii. (368 *ff.*); beginnings of trade, 311 *f.*, 368; royal trade, 313, 324, 340; foreign traders in Jerus., 201, 370; by the Priests, 356, 366; great increase of Jewish trade in the Greek Period, 370 *f.*; trade of Jews of the dispersion,

371; Jewish trade and the Law, 371 *f.*; unsuitableness of Jerusalem for trade, 14 *f.*, 313, 335.
Traditions as to City of David, 161 *ff.*
Traditional Sion, the. *See* Ṣion.
Trajan, Emperor, 68.
Trees about the City, 305. *See* Timber.
Tribute, 339, 343.
Tryphon, 158.
Tunnel under Ophel, date of, 101; inscription of, 94 *f.*, 101, 140, 156, 207.
Turkish architecture, 239; barracks, 34.
Turret of the corner, the, 200.
Twin Pools, (so called) by Antonia, 116.
Twin Pools at St. Anne's, 118.
Typhon and mythology of earthquakes, 72.
Tyre, 330 *f.*, 416 *f.*
—— supposed letter from Solomon to King of, 315.
Tyrian coins. *See* Coins.
Tyrians as traders, 201, 370.
Tyropœon, 10, 23, 35, 82 *f.*, 91, 98, 105 *f.*, 115, 119, 127, 136, 139, 143, 170, 173, 175, 185, 197 *f.*, 203, 208, 212, 219 *ff.*, 225 *f.*, 242 *f.* *See also* el-Wâd.

Upper Pool, the, 105, 114, 116.
Urfa, earthquakes at, 62.
Uzziah, King, 74, 102, 206, 286, 353.

Valerius Flaccus, his use of the name Solyma, 263, 263 *n.*
Valley Gate. *See* Gates of the City.
—— of Hinnom. *See* Hinnom and Wâdy er-Rababi.
—— of Jehoshaphat, 173. *See* Ḳidron and Wâdy Sitti Mariam.
—— of the Kidron. *See* Ḳidron and Wâdy Sitti Mariam.
Van de Velde's map of Jerusalem, 211 *n.*
Van Lennep, *Bible Lands and Customs*, 312 *n.*
Venus, temple to, 163.
Vespasian, Emperor, 348, 433.
Viâ Maris, 344.
Vine, the, a staple product of Judæa, 299, 303, 335.
Virgin's Spring, 57, 60, 81, 102 *f.*, 107, 138 *f.*, 169, 198, 208, 227, 287. *See* 'Ain Sitti Mariam and Giḥon.
Vitellius, 344, 448.
Volz on Isaiah viii. 18, 148.
Von Sallet on disputed coins of the Maccabees, 407 *n.*

Wady 'Akabet eṣ-Ṣawân, 39.
—— 'Arrûb, 124, 128 *f.*
—— 'Artas, 124, 127, 130.
—— Bêt-Ḥanina, 9, 10.
—— el-Biâr, 124, 127 *f.*
—— el-Ḥaniyeh, 122.
—— ej-Jôz, 32, 39, 119, 123.
—— el-Malḥa, 306.
—— el-Mês, 42, 113.
—— en-Nâr, 12 *n.*, 32, 36, 100, 174, 304.
—— et-Ṭawâḥîn, 376.
—— el-Werd, 26.
—— Fârah, 123.
—— Kelt, 90 *n.*
—— Ḳuloniyeh, 9, 123.
—— Menje, 125.
—— er-Rabâbi, possibilities of water in, 100; *also* 10, 16, 22, 32 *ff.*, 38 *f.*, 41 *f.*, 44 *ff.*, 49, 54 *f.*, 88, 100, 111, 113, 126, 137, 138, 170, 180, 185, 212.
—— Sitti Mariam, 32 *ff.*, 38 *f.*, 44 *ff.*, 170, 180.
—— Sirḥan, 319.
—— Yasûl, 100.
Wakf, 354.
Wâḳuf lands, 280.
Walls of Jerusalem, Book I. ch. viii., natural lines of, 32, 181 *f.*; present walls, 184 *ff.*, reason for direction of present South Wall, 23, 185 *f.*; proofs of ancient walls, 187 *f.* *A.* In topographical order: West Walls, 47 *f.*, 203 *f.*, 213 *f.*, 240 *f.*; South Walls, 215 *ff.*; Walls across Tyropœon, 220 *ff.*; up Tyropœon, 221 *f.*; *the Two Walls*, 225 *f.*; Wall of the 'Ophel, 199, 209; other walls on Ophel, 230; East City Walls, 198 *f.*, 226 *ff.*, 234 *ff.*, 238, in O.T. times below East Ḥaram Wall, 236 *f.*;

in Herod's time coincident with East Ḥaram Wall, 234 *f.*; North City Walls, 182 *f.*, 200 *ff.*, 204, 208, 239, 241 *ff.* *B.* In historical order: Solomon's, 205, 208, 210, 217 *f.*, 228, 240; Uzziah's, 206, 240 *n.* 5; Jotham's, 207, 227; Hezekiah's, 207, 222, 228; Manasseh's, 208 *f.*, 237; Nehemiah's, 195 *ff.*, 209, 227; Simon's fortifications in third century, 195, 391; in the times of the Maccabees, 194 *f.*, 225, 228, 404; under John Hyrcanus, 194; under Hyrcanus II. or Antipater, 194; under Herod the Great, 193, 224, 240; under Agrippa I., 237 *ff.*, 244 *ff.*, 428; completion on First Jewish Revolt against Rome, 432 *n.* 7; walls at the siege of Titus, as reported by Josephus, 181 *ff.*, 224, 241 *ff.*; First Wall, 182, 203, 242 *f.*; Second, 203, 213 *n.*, 247 *ff.*; Third, 244 *ff.*; Hadrian's Wall, 185 *f.*, 218, 240 *f.*; various walls of Christian era, 225, 241; wall of Empress Eudocia, 216, 219; Crusaders' Walls, 185, 190 *n.*, 214, 218; on Marino Sanuto's map (1321 A.D.), 218; Turkish walls, 184, 239; present City walls, 184 *ff.*

Walls of the Temple, 192, 194, 230 *ff.*, 242, 391.

War of Independence, 429, 431.

Warren, Sir Charles, on rock contours, 36 *n.*, 38 *n.*, 139, 211 *n.*; excavations on Ophel, 181, 199, 210, 212, 229 *f.*; on S.W. Hill, 126; E. City Wall N. of Temple, 235 *ff.*; in Ḥaret ed-Dawâyeh, 242 *f.*; exploration of Temple Walls, 192 *f.*, 212, 232 *ff.*; as to position of Ṣion, 139, 167; as to Hinnom, 173. The following references are to the *Recovery of Jerusalem*, *P.E.F. Memoirs*, 'Jerus.,' with portfolio and articles in Hastings' *D.B.*: 76, 76 *n.*, 82 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 93 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 105 n., 109 *n.*, 114 *n.*, 117, 117 *n.*, 121, 139 *n.*, 167, 167 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 181, 192 *n.*, 199 *n.*, 210 *n.*, 211 *n.*, 212 *n.*, 238 *n.*, 247 *n.*

Warren's Shaft, 92, 103, 106, 140 *f.*

Watchman of City, 384.

Water, moral results of struggle for, 133. *See* Aqueducts, Cisterns, Rainfall, Reservoirs, etc.

Water-gate. *See* Gates of City.

Water-skins, 310.

Water-supply, natural conditions of, 77.

Water-tanks, 112 *ff.* *See* Reservoirs, Tanks, etc.

Welej, springs about, 122.

Weljeh, 303.

Wellhausen on royal tithes, 338; and land tax, 345; on priests' dues, 359 *f.* The following references are to his *Prolegomena to the Hist. of Israel* (Eng. Trans.), *Pharisäer u. Sadducäer*, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, *Text der Bücher Samuelis*, *Israel. u. Jüd. Geschichte*, and translation of Psalms in *S.B.O.T.*: 67 *n.*, 160 *n.*, 316 *n.*, 345, 359, 360 *n.*, 380 *n.*, 388 *n.*, 402 *n.*, 407 *n.*, 408 *n.*, 436 *n.*

Well of Job, 98. *See* Bir Eiyub.

—— of our Lady Mary, 40. *See* 'Ain Sitti Mariam.

Westcott and Hort, 264.

West Hill, 34, 47, 181.

Wetzstein on derivation of name Ṣion, 145 *n.*

Wheat, 298, 314 *ff.*, 322.

Wilkinson, 318 *n.*

William of Tyre, 342.

Williams, 84 *n.*

Willibald, 264.

Wilson, Major-General Sir Charles, on St. Anne's Ravine, 45 *n.*; the geology, 51; earthquakes, 62, 70; waters of Jerus., Book I. chap. v. *passim*; site of Ṣion, ch. vi. *passim*; on Hinnom, 176; on the walls, ch. viii. *passim*. The following references are to his art. 'Jerusalem' in Smith's *D.B.*(2), art. 'Zion' in Hastings' *D.B.*; *Recovery of Jerusalem*; *P.E.F. Memoirs*, 'Jerusalem'; *P.E.F. Plans of Jerusalem*; *Water Supply of Jerusalem*; *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, and a number of MS. communications to the author: 31 *n.*, 34 *n.*, 36 *n.*, 51 *n.*, 60 *n.*,

76, 76 *n.*, 82 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 85, 85 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 91, 93 *n.*, 99, 100 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 105, 108 *n.*, 109 *n.*, 112, 113 *n.*, 114, 116 *n.*, 118 *n.*, 119 *n.*, 120, 121, 124, 126 *n.*, 127 *n.*, 129 *n.*, 137, 139, 156, 164, 164 *n.*, 167, 167 *n.*, 176 *n.*, 185, 185 *n.*, 187 *n.*, 190, 191 *n.*, 192 *n.*, 205 *n.*, 211 *n.*, 240, 243, 243 *n.*, 245 *n.*, 246 *n.*, 247, 247 *n.*
Wilson, John, *Lands of the Bible*, on the geology, 51.
Wilson's Arch, 127.
Winckler, quoted, 252 *n.*, 254 *n.*, 284 *n.*, 306 *n.*, 324 *n.*
Winer, *Grammar of the New Testament Diction*, on name of Jerusalem, 263 *n.*, 264 *n.*; on High Priest's position in the Sanhedrin, 418.
Women's Towers, 245.
Wood, supplies of, for the altar, 364.
Woodlands of Palestine, 78.
Wool, export from Judæa, 333 *f.*; woolen garments exported, 312, 334, 372, 375; weaving, 373, 375; spinning, 374.
Wordsworth and White, *Nouum Test. . . . Latine*, 265 *n.*

Xenophon, the topographer, 84, 261 *n.*
Xystos, the, 242.

Yakut, *Geogr. Lex.*, 145 *n.*; *Mu'gam el-Buldan*, 253 *n.*, 270 *n.*, 271 *n.*
Yusuf Pasha, 88.

Zacchæus, 341, 368.
Zahn, *Einleitung in d. N.T.*, 264 *n.*
Zealots, the, 433.
Zechariah, the prophet, 302, 313, 381 *f.*
—— pyramid of, 55.
Zedekiah, king of Judah, 13, 226.
Zeḥweileh, name of rock, 109 *n.*, 110.
Zeitschrift für die Alt-testamentliche Wissenschaft, 250 *n.*, 259 *n.*
Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 84 *n.*, 200 *n.*
Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 18 *n.*, 52 *n.*, 55 *n.*, 76 *n.*, 77 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 79 *n.*, 95 *n.*, 97 *n.*, 100 *n.*, 104 *n.*, 106 *n.*, 116 *n.*, 118 *n.*, 119 *n.*, 121 *n.*, 125 *n.*, 130 *n.*, 144 *n.*, 161 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 167 *n.*, 174 *n.*, 176 *n.*, 177 *n.*, 188 *n.*, 198 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 212 *n.*, 213 *n.*, 227 *n.*, 228 *n.*, 238 *n.*, 240 *n.*, 247 *n.*, 250 *n.*, 253 *n.*, 265 *n.*, 280 *n.*, 284 *n.*, 286 *n.*, 300 *n.*, 331 *n.*, 372 *n.*, 431 *n.*
Zephaniah, 369.
Zerubbabel, 380 *ff.*
Zimmermann, Karl, on a surface level, 33 *n.*
Zimmern, Dr., *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 254, 254 *n.*; *Keilinschriften u.d. A.T.* (3), 255 *n.*
Zion. *See* Sion.
Zobah, 331.
Zoheleth, the stone, 109 *f.* *See* Zeḥweileh.
Zumoffen, *La Météorologie de la Palestine*, 18 *n.*
Zunz, on the Presidency of the Sanhedrin, 418.

SPECIAL INDEX I.

PASSAGES OF THE BIBLE AND THE APOCRYPHA

Genesis i. 21 . . Page 72
xii. 16 . . . 323
xiv. . . 258, 262
xiv. 18 . . . 252
xxii. 2 . . . 267
xxii. 14 . . . 258
xxiv. 19 . . . 323
xxv. 29 . . . 291
xxx. 43 . . . 323
xxxv. 21 . . . 287
xxxvii. 25 . 323, 333
xliii. 11 . . . 343
xlvii. 22 . . . 353
xlix. 11 *f.* . . 303
xlix. 12 . . . 308
xlix. 25 . . . 71
Exodus vi. 3 . . . 71
ix. 31 . . . 334
xi. 5 . . . 375
xv. 10 . . . 332
xvi. 22 . . . 386
xxi. *ff.* . . 279, 355
xxii. 4 . . . 291
xxiii. 16 . . . 291
xxiv. 9 . . 387, 390
xxix. 6, 7 . . 386
xxx. 13-16 . . 359
Leviticus iv. 3, 15 . . 386
vii. 8 . . . 359
vii. 30-34 . . 358
viii. 12 . . . 386
ix. 1 . . . 390
ix. 1, 7 . . . 386
xi. 4 . . . 324
xix. 19 . . . 326
xxi. 1-15 . . 386
xxv. 23 *f.* . . 279
xxv. 34 . . . 290
xxvii. 14 *ff.* . . 360
xxvii. 27 . . 359
xxvii. 30-33 . . 358 *f.*

Numbers i. 4-15 . . Page 386
i. 16 . . . 390
iv. 34 . . . 386
vii. 2 . . . 386
xi. 5 . . . 317 *f.*
xi. 16, 24 . . 387
xv. 20 . . . 358
xvi. 2 . . . 39, 386
xviii. 9-32 . . 358 *f.*
xx. 17 . . . 291
xxi. 25, 32 . . 288
xxiv. 4, 16 . . 71
xxvi. 9 . . . 390
xxvii. 1-11 . . 279
xxxi. 13 . . 386
xxxi. 22 . . 333
xxxii. 1 *ff.* . . 321
xxxii. 2 . . 386
xxxii. 33 . . 293
xxxii. 42 . . 288
xxxv. 2-5 . . 289
xxxv. 3 . . . 290
xxxv. 25 . . 386
xxxv. 26 . . 293
Deuteronomy iii. 11 . . 332
iii. 16 . . 293
iv. 20 . . 332
vi. 10 . . 278
viii. 8 . . 363
viii. 9 . . 332
xii. 6 . . 355 *f.*
xiv. 7 . . 324
xiv. 9 . . 317
xiv. 22-29 . 355
xiv. 24 *ff.* . 370
xvii. 16 . . 324
xviii. 1-8 . 355
xviii. 4 . . 334
xix. 12 . 377, 390
xix. 14 . 279, 292
xxi. 2-4, 6, 19 *f.* 390

Deuteronomy xxi. 2 *ff.* . Page 377
xxi. 18 *ff.* . 444
xxii. 10 . . 323
xxii. 11 . . 334
xxii. 15-18 . 390
xxv. 7-9 . . 390
xxvi. 1-15 . 355
xxvii. 7 . . 356
xxvii. 17 . 279, 292
xxxii. 13 . . 306
xxxii. 14 . . 321
xxxiii. 13 . 73
Joshua i. 15 71
ii. 6 334
vii. 21 . . . 327
ix. 15, 18 . . . 386
xiii. 3, 26 . . 293
xv.-xix. . . . 280
xv. 7 . . 109, 111
xv. 8 . . 171, 175
xvi. 3 . . . 293
xvii. 11 . . . 288
xviii. 16 . 111, 171 *f.*, 175
xix. 12 . . . 293
xxi. 280
xxii. 30 . . . 386
Judges v. 4 291
v. 10 . . . 308
v. 16 . . . 321
v. 22 . . . 324
vi. 5 . . . 323
vi. 37 *ff.* . . . 334
vii. 12 . . . 323
vii. 13 . . . 299
viii. 14 . . . 377
viii. 21 . . . 323
viii. 24 *ff.* . . . 327
ix. 4 347
ix. 8 *ff.* . . . 299
x. 4 308
xiv. 8 *ff.* . . . 306
xvii. 2 . . . 329
xix. 3, 10 . . . 308
xx. 6, 10 . . . 436
Ruth i. 20 *f.* . . . 71
iv. 279
1 Samuel ii. 4 . . . 407
ii. 12-17 . . 355
ii. 27-36 . . 356
vi. 12 . . . 292
viii. 14 . . . 337
viii. 15-17 . . 338
ix. 308
ix. 8 . . . 329
1 Samuel xiv. 25 *ff.* . Page 306
xv. 3 . . . 323
xvii. 25 . . 345
xxii. 1 *f.* . . 347
xxvii. 9 . . 322 *f.*
xxx. 26 . . 377
2 Samuel iv. 6 . . . 316
v. 7 . . . 144
v. 8 . . . 106
vi. 12 . . . 155
viii. 7, 11 . . 327
viii. 8 . . . 331
viii. 10 *f.* . . 339
viii. 18. . . 347
ix. . . . 367
ix. 7 . . . 291
xii. 17 . . . 378
xii. 30 . . . 339
xiii. 23 *ff.* . 334, 338
xiii. 29 . . 326
xiii. 34 . . . 379
xiv. 26 . . 329, 340
xiv. 30 . . 299, 338
xv. *ff.* . . . 13
xv. 1 . . . 325
xv. 18 . . . 347
xv. 23 . . . 81
xv. 34 . . . 349
xvi. 1 . . . 308
xvii. 4 . . . 377
xvii. 17 . 109, 111
xviii. 9 . . . 326
xviii. 24 . . 379
xix. 11 . . . 377
xix. 30 . . . 291
xix. 31-39 . 337, 367
xx. 7, 23 . . 347
xx. 19 . . . 288
xxiii. 8 *ff.* . . 378
xxiv. 18 *ff.* . . 147
1 Kings i. 9 109
i. 33 . . 107 *f.*, 326
i. 38 . 107 *f.*, 326, 347
i. 41-46 . . . 110
i. 44 . . 326, 347
i. 45 . . . 108
ii. 10 . . . 155
ii. 26 . . . 356
iii. 1 . . 155, 205
iv. 7 *ff.* . . . 339
iv. 25 . . 279, 303
v. 11 . . 316, 340
v. 24 . . . 152
vi. *ff.* . . . 328

1 Kings vi.-ix. . . Page 352
vii. 13 *ff.* . . . 331
vii. 51 . . . 327
viii. 1 . . . 155
viii. 51 . . . 332
ix. 11 . . . 340
ix. 15 . . . 205
x. 2. . . . 323
x. 5. . . . 350
x. 10, 25 . . . 339
x. 15 . . . 343
x. 21, 27 . . . 330
x. 28 *f.* . . . 324
xi. 27 . . . 155
xi. 34 . . . 387
xii. 6 . . . 378
xiv. 27 *f.* . . . 347
xiv. 31 . . . 155
xv. 13 . . . 81
xv. 15-18 . . . 352
xviii. 5, 44 . . 325
xx. 8 . . . 377
xxi. 3 . . . 279
xxi. 8 . . . 377
xxi. 16 . . . 337
xxii. 11 . . . 332
xxii. 26 . . . 379
xxii. 34 *ff.* . . 325
2 Kings ii. 12, . . . 325
iii. 4 . 321 *f.*, 334, 339
iv. 13 . . . 367
iv. 25 . . . 304
v. 17 . . . 326
vi. 32 . . . 377
ix. 16 . . . 325
ix. 17 . . . 379
x. 22 . . . 350
x. 25 . . . 379
xi. . . . 378 *f.*
xi. 4-19 . . . 347
xi. 16 . . 199, 325
xii. 4 *ff.* . . . 352
xiii. 14 . . . 325
xiv. 8-14 . . . 206
xiv. 13 . . . 202 *f.*
xiv. 28 . . . 268
xviii. 17 . . . 114
xviii. 18 . . 349, 378
xviii. 37 . . . 349
xix. 31 . . . 150
xx. 20 . 102, 115, 155
xxii. 12 . . . 349
xxiii. 1 . . . 378
xxiii. 6, 12 . . 81

2 Kings xxiii. 10 . . Page 171
xxiii. 35 . . . 345
xxiv. 14 *ff.* . . 378
xxv. 2-5 . . . 226
xxv. 4 *f.* . . . 13
xxv. 18, 19 . . 378
1 Chronicles iii. 5, . . 251
v. 16 . . 290
v. 21 . . 322
vi. 55 . . 280
vii. 2 . . 254
ix. 6 . . 254
ix. 11 . . 424
xii. 40 . 324, 326
xv. 18 . . 254
xviii. 14 *ff.* . 378
xxi. 18 *ff.* . 147
xxiv. 7-18 . 362
xxvii. 25 *ff.* 338, 350
xxvii. 28 . . 305
xxvii. 30 . . 323
2 Chronicles ii. 12 . . 331
ii. 14 . . 373
iii. 1 . 150, 267
v. 2 . . 150
viii. 9 . . 378
xi. 5 . . 150
xiii. 3 . . 347
xiv. 15 . . 322
xv. 16 . . 81
xvi. 14 . . 332
xvii. 11 . . 322
xix. 8 *ff.* . 378, 387
xx. . . 150
xx. 16 . . 254
xx. 24 . . 286
xxiii. *f.* . . 150
xxiii. 15 . 199, 325
xxv. 1 . . 251
xxv. 6 . . 347
xxv. 23 . . 203
xxv. 28 . . 268
xxvi. 9 . 172, 206
xxvii. 3 . 152, 207
xxviii. 3 . . 171
xxviii. 27 . 155
xxix. 14 . . 254
xxix. 16 . . 81
xxix. 20 . . 150
xxx. 14 . . 81
xxxi. 6 . . 358
xxxi. 13 . . 424
xxx. 19 . . 290 *f.*
xxxii. 3 . . 82, 155

2 Chronicles xxxii. 4 Page 81 *f.*, 102
xxxii. 5 . 182, 207
xxxii. 9 . . 251
xxxii. 30 . 102, 155
xxxiii. 6 . . 171
xxxiii. 14 { 81, 102 / 152, 155 / 205, 208
xxxiv. . . 150
xxxiv. 8 . . 379
Ezra i. 3 150
i. 5 . . . 150, 383
i. 8 387
ii. 1 *f.* . . . 380
ii. 36 *ff.* . . . 362
ii. 66 326
ii. 67 324
ii. 68 383
iv. 13 343
iv. 20 . . . 14, 252, 343
iv. 24 . . . 150, 252
v. 1 252
v. 9 383
v. 14 252
vi. 8-10 . . . 357
vi. 9 252
vii. 24 343
ix. 1. 322
ix. 2 . . . . 382 *f.*
x. 1, 8, 9, 14 . . 383
x. 18 382
Nehemiah ii. 8 . . . 17, 339
ii. 13 . 172, 176, 196 *f.*
ii. 14 . . 106, 197
ii. 15 . 81, 172, 196, 198
ii. 16 . . . 382 *f.*
iii. 1 . . . 200
iii. 1-32 . . 196
iii. 3 . . 201, 317
iii. 6 . . . 202
iii. 8 . . . 204
iii. 9 . . . 292
iii. 11 . . . 204
iii. 12 . . . 292
iii. 13 . 172, 179, 197
iii. 14 . 176, 197, 292
iii. 15 . 106, 155, 167
iii. 16 . 106, 155, 198
iii. 18 . . . 292
iii. 19 . . . 198
iii. 20-23 . . 199
iii. 24 . . . 199
iii. 25-27 . . 199
iii. 26 . . . 152
Nehemiah iii. 28 . . Page 199
iii. 31 . . . 200
iii. 32 . . . 200
iv. 8 [14 Eng.], 13 [19 Eng.] . 383
iv. 18 . . . 384
v. . . 337, 367
v. 4 . . . 339
v. 7 . . . 383
v. 14 . . 339, 345
v. 17 . . . 382 *f.*
vi. 17 . . . 383
vii. 1-3 . . 384
vii. 5 . . . 382 *f.*
vii. 6 *f.* . . 380
vii. 68 . . . 326
vii. 69 . . . 324
vii. 70 . . . 383
viii. 1 . . . 383
viii. 16 . . 204
ix. 1, 38 . . 383
x. 28 . . . 383
x. 32-39 . . 357
xi. 1 . . 270, 383
xi. 21 . . . 152
xi. 30 . . 171, 291
xii. 28 . . . 292
xii. 29 . . . 291
xii. 31 . . . 197
xii. 31-41 . . 196
xii. 37 . . 155, 199
xii. 39 . . . 200 *f.*
xii. 40 . . . 383
xii. 44 . . 291, 357
xii. 47 . . . 357
xiii. 4 *ff.* . 360, 382
xiii. 7 . . . 150
xiii. 10 *ff.* . . 382 *f.*
xiii. 15-31 . . 384
xiii. 16 . 201, 370
xiii. 17 . . 383 *f.*
xiii. 28 *ff.* . . 382
Esther ii. 6 . . . 251
Job vii. 12 . . . 72
xix. 23 *f.* . . 332
xxxi. 10 . . 375
xxxix. 25 . . 325
Psalms xvi. 5 *f.* . . 280
xxii. 12 . . 321
xxxii. 9 . . 326
xlii. 8 . . . 106
xlvi. 2 . . . 67
xlvi. 4 . . 133, 269
lii. 8 . . . 302

Psalms xlviii. 1, 2, 8 . Page 269
lxviii. 15 . . . 71
lxxii. 16 . . . 269
lxxiv. 7 . . . 269
lxxiv. 15 . . . 67
lxxvi. 3 . . . 252
lxxviii. 12 . . 291
lxxxi. 16 . . . 306
cvii. 33 *ff.* . . 67
cxiv. 8 . . . 67
cxxii. 3 . . . 24
cxxv. 3 . . . 280
cxl. 11 . . . 172
Proverbs xi. 26 . . . 316
xxi. 31 . . . 325
xxii. 28 . . . 292
xxiii. 10 . . 292
xxxi. 13 . . 334
xxxi. 24 . . 334
Ecclesiastes ii. 8 . . . 346
xii. 3 . . 375
Song of Solomon iv. 1 . . 321
iv. 12 . 124
vi. 5 . . 321
Isaiah i. 8 148
i. 10, 23 . . . 378
i. 26 . . . 269, 378
ii. 3 150
ii. 7 325
iii. 2, 14 . . . 378
iii. 3 348
iv. 5 148
v. 8 . . 279, 281, 291
vii. 2 *ff.* . . . 207
vii. 3 . . 105, 114 *f.*
vii. 20 *ff.* . . . 303
viii. 3 . . . 104
viii. 6 . . . 103
ix. 9 64
x. 12 148
x. 32 148
x. 34 332
xiii. 6 . . . 71
xvi. 1 . . . 148
xviii. 7 . . . 148
xix. 9 . . . 334
xxii. 1 . . . 24
xxii. 3 . . . 378
xxii. 8-11 . . . 207
xxii. 9 . 105, 115, 155, 225
xxii. 11 . 105, 207, 225
xxii. 15 . . . 349
xxiv. 23 . . . 150
xxvii. 1 . . . 73
Isaiah xxvii. 13 . . Page 150
xxviii. 7 . . . 356
xxviii. 16 . . . 147
xxix. 1 . . . 268
xxix. 6 . . . 64
xxix. 8 . . . 148
xxx. 6 . . 308, 324
xxxi. 1, 3 . . . 325
xxxi. 4 . . . 148
xxxi. 9 . . . 268
xxxii. 14 . . . 152
xxxiii. 21 *ff.* . . 133
xxxvi. 2 . . . 114 *f.*
xxxvi. 3, 22 . . 349
xxxvi. 11 . . . 24
xxxvii. 22 . . . 269
xl.-lv. . . . 149
xl. 9 149
xli. 18 . . . 67
xli. 27 . . . 149
xlii. 3 . . . 334
xliii. 17 . . . 334
xlvii. 2 . . . 375
xlviii. 2 . . . 270
li. 9 72
li. 11 . . . 149
li. 16 . . . 149
lii. 1 . . 149, 270
lii. 2 . . . 269
lii. 7 *f.* . . . 149
lix. 20 . . . 149
lx. 6 . . 324, 333
lx. 7 . . . 322
lx. 14 . . 149, 269
lxi. 5 . . . 303
lxv. 21 . . . 303
lxvi. 6 . . . 269
lxvi. 8 . . . 149
lxvi. 20 . . . 326
lxvi. 24 . . . 173
Jeremiah i. 18 . . . 332
ii. 22 . . . 320
ii. 23 . . . 172
iv. 6 . . . 149
iv. 11 . . . 12
iv. 30 . . . 333
iv. 31 . . . 149
v. 1 *ff.* . . . 370
vi. 2 . . . 149
vi. 13 . . . 356
vi. 20 . . . 333
vi. 23 . . . 149
vi. 29 . . 332, 374
vii. 11 . . . 356

Jeremiah vii. 31 . Page 171 *f.*, 176
vii. 32 . . . 171
viii. 6 . . . 325
viii. 19 . . . 149
ix. 21 [20] . . 24
x. 9 . . 330, 374
x. 14 . . . 374
xi. 4 . . . 332
xi. 16 . . . 302
xiv. 19 . . . 149
xv. 12 . . . 331 *f.*
xvii. 1 . . . 332
xvii. 26 . . . 292
xviii. 2 . . . 374
xix. 1 . . . 378
xix. 2, 6 . . 171
xx. 1 . . 379, 424
xxiii. 11 . . 356
xxiv. 1 . . . 374
xxv. 10 . . . 376
xxvi. 10 . 349, 378
xxvi. 16, 17 . . 378
xxvi. 18 . 149, 251
xxviii. 13 . . 332
xxix. 26 . . 379
xxxi. 6 . . . 149
xxxi. 40 . 81, 174, 199
xxxii. . . . 356
xxxii. 2 . . . 379
xxxii. 6 *ff.* . . 279
xxxii. 24 *f.* . . 269
xxxii. 35 . . 171
xxxiii. 13 . . 292
xxxvi. 12, 14 . 349, 378
xxxvi. 19, 24 . . 378
xxxvii. 12 . . 280
xxxvii. 15 . . 379
xxxvii. 21 . 204, 379
xxxviii. 6, 13 . 379
xxxix. 2-5 . . 226
xli. 17 . . . 337
l. 19 . . . 321
l. 21 . . . 257
li. . . . 382
li. 34 . . . 73
lii. 5-8 . . . 226
Lamentations i. 4, 17 . . 149
ii. 1 . 149, 269
ii. 6 . . 149
ii. 11, 12 . 24
ii. 13, 15 . 269
iv. 1, 18 . 24
iv. 6 . . 269
iv. 22 . . 149
Lamentations v. 11, 18 Page 149
Ezekiel i. 4, 27 . . . 330
i. 24 . . . 71
iii. 1 . . . 380
iv. 3 . . 332, 380
vii. 23 . . . 269
vii. 27 . . . 387
viii. 1 . . . 380
viii. 2 . . . 330
x. 5 71
xii. 10 . . . 387
xiv. 1 . . . 380
xiv. 3 *ff.* . . . 174
xiv. 10 . . . 202
xvii. 1 . . . 380
xx. 1, 27 . . . 380
xxii. 17 *ff.* . . 332
xxii. 17, 18, 20 . 332 *f.*
xxiii. . . . 382
xxiii. 23 . . . 257
xxiii. 40 . . . 333
xxvi. 2 . . . 14, 316
xxvii. 12 . . 330, 332 *f.*
xxvii. 14 . . 324, 326
xxvii. 17 . . 316, 370
xxvii. 20 . . . 374
xxvii. 22 . . . 333
xxxii. . . . 73
xxxiii. 1 . . . 380
xxxiii. 2 *ff.* . . 384
xxxiv. 3 . . . 334
xxxvi. 17 . . . 380
xxxviii. 19 *ff.* . . 67
xxxix. 18 . . . 321
xliii. 15 *f.* . . 268
xliii. 21 . . . 200
xliv. 23 *f.* . . 381
xlv. 2 . . . 290
xlv. 7 *f.* . . 338, 387
xlvi. 18 . . . 338
xlvii. 1, 5 . . 133
xlvii. 11 . . . 319
xlviii. 15 . . . 290
Daniel ix. 24 . . . 270
Hosea i. 7 325
ii. 7, 11 . . . 334
iv. 8 356
xii. 7 . . . 369
xii. 13 . . . 291
xiv. 3 . . . 325
xiv. 6 . . . 302
Joel i. 11 291
ii. 1 270
ii. 9 24

Joel ii. 32 . . . Page 150
iii. 12 174
iii. 17 370
Amos i. 2 147
i. 3 332
ii. 6 374
ii. 8 . . . 354, 356
iii. 6 384
iv. 10 325
iv. 11 64
vi. 1 147
vii. 1 *f.* . . . 339
vii. 4 73
vii. 7 *f.* . . . 332
vii. 14 305
vii. 17 356
viii. 5 . . 316, 369
viii. 8 64
Obadiah 17, 21 . . . 150
Micah i. 13 148
ii. 1 *ff.* . . 279, 281
ii. 5 280
iii. 10 147
iii. 11 356
iii. 12 . . 147, 291
iv. 2 150
iv. 4 . . . 279, 303 *f.*
iv. 7 150
iv. 8 . . . 152, 287
iv. 10 291
iv. 13 332
vii. 14 321
Nahum iii. 2 325
Habakkuk iii. 7 13
iii. 17 303
Zephaniah i. 11 369
iii. 14, 16 . . . 149
Haggai i. 8 17
i. 12, 14 . . . 381
ii. 2 381
Zechariah i. 14, 17 . . 149
i. 16 *f.* . . 381
ii. 1-13 . . 381
ii. 7 . . . 149
iii. 1-8 . . . 382
iii. 2 . . . 381
iv. 6 *ff.* . . 382
iv. 10 . . . 333
iv. 14 . . . 302
vi. 9-15 . . 382
vi. 13 . . . 382
viii. 2 *ff.* . . 381
viii. 3 . . . 149
ix. 9 . . . 308
Malachi i. 6, 13 *f.* . Page 382
ii. 1-9 . . . 382
iii. 3, 5-11 . . 382
1 Esdras viii. 81 . . 151
2 Esdras ii. 40, 42 . . 150
iii. 2, 31 . . 150
iii. 18 . . . 73
iii. 19 . . . 67
x. 20, 23, 39, 44 . 150
xiii. 35 *f.* . . 150
xvi. 12 . . . 72
Judith ix. 13 . . . 151
xv. 11 . . . 326
Esther (Apocryphal) x. 6 . 73
xi. 4 *ff.* . . . 61, 73
Wisdom of Solomon xv. 7, 9 374
xv. 12 . 371
Ecclesiasticus iv. 7, 27 . 392
vi. 34 . . 392
vii. 7 . . 397
viii. 13 . . 371
x. 2 . 392, 397
x. 3, 5 . . 392
xxiii. 21, 24 . 392
xxiv. 10 . . 151
xxvi. 29 *ff.* . 371
xxix. 4 *ff.* . 371
xxxiii. 18 [19] 392
xxxvii. 11 . 371
xxxviii. 24, 33 392
xxxviii. 27-34 . 374
xxxix. 11 . 392
xli. 18 . . 371
xlii. 3 *f.* . 371
xliv. 15 . . 392
xlviii. 17 . 156
l. 1 *ff.* . 131, 195
l. 20 . . 392
1 Maccabees i. 26 . . 393
i. 31 . . 194
i. 33-36 . . 157
ii. 1 . . 407
ii. 1-30 . . 401
ii. 29, 30 . . 400
ii. 31 . . 157
ii. 49-70 . . 401
iii. 43 *f.*, 46-56 401 *f.*
iv. 29, 42, 59 . 402
iv. 37 . . 151
iv. 37-41 . . 157
iv. 60 . 151, 194
v. 16, 42 . . 402
v. 54 . . 151
vi. 18 *ff.*, 26 . 157

1 Maccabees vi. 26 . Page 194
vi. 48, 62 . 151
vi. 51-62 . . 194
vii. 5 *ff.* . . 402
vii. 33 . . 151
ix. 23-73 . . 403
ix. 52 *f.* . . 157
x. 7-11 . . 157
x. 10 . 194, 404
x. 11 . . 151
x. 18 *ff.* . . 403
x. 31 . . 339
xi. 20-23 . . 157
xi. 28-37 . . 404
xi. 35 . . 338
xi. 41-52 . . 157
xi. 57 . . 396
xii. 6 . 393, 405
xii. 35 195, 393, 405
xii. 36 . 158, 404
xii. 37 . 34, 195
xiii. 21, 49, 51, 52 . . 158
xiii. 36 . 393, 405
xiii. 42, 47 . 404
xiv. 20 . . 393
xiv. 27 . 151, 393
xiv. 27-47 404, 407
xiv. 32 . . 348
xiv. 37 . 160, 195
xv. 2 . . 404
xvi. 23 . . 194
2 Maccabees iii. 1 . . 399
iii. 4 . . 424
iii. 6, 10 *f.* . 366
iv. . . . 399
iv. 44 . 393, 400
xi. 27 . . 393
xiv. 3 . . 402
2 Maccabees—4 Maccabees 261
Enoch lxvii. 5-11 . . 67
Matthew ii. 3 . . . 263
iii. 4 . . . 306
iii. 5 . . . 263
iv. 5 . . . 270
v. 21 *ff.* . . 415
v. 25 . . . 423
v. 26 . . . 429
viii. 28 *ff.* . . 294
ix. 9 . . . 342
x. 9 . . . 430
x. 17, 18, 21, 23, 28 417
x. 29 . . . 429
xii. 1 . . . 294
Matthew xii. 2, 14, 24, 38 Page 416
xiii. 54, 57 . . 294
xv. 1, 21 . . 417
xvi. 1 . . . 417
xvi. 21 . . . 417
xvii. 24 . . 364, 430
xvii. 27 . . . 430
xviii. 6 . . . 376
xviii. 25 . . 417
xviii. 34 . 417, 423
xix. 3, 18 . . 417
xx. 2 *ff.* . . 430
xx. 17 . . . 264
xxi. 1 . . . 264
xxi. 2 *ff.* . . 308
xxii. 15 *ff.* . . 430
xxii. 18 . . 417
xxiii. 34 . . 417
xxiii. 37 . . 263
xxiv. 41 . . 375
xxvi. 51 . . 423
xxvii. 51 *f.* . . 64
xxvii. 53 . . 270
Mark i. 6 306
ii. 16, 24 . . . 416
iii. 6 416
iii. 8 . . . . 264 *f.*
iii. 22 . . . 414
v. 1, 14 . . . 294
vi. 1, 4 . . . 294
vi. 56 . . . 294
vii. 1 417
viii. 11 . . . 417
ix. 42 376
x. 33 417
xi. 2 *ff.* . . . 308
xii. 41 *ff.* . . . 364
xii. 42 . . . 429
xiv. 47 . . . 423
xv. 43 . . . 415
Luke ii. 22 265
iii. 14 349
iv. 23 294
v. 17, 21, 30 . . 416
vi. 7, 11 . . . 416
viii. 26, 34, 37 . . 294
ix. 10 *ff.* . . . 294
xi. 16 417
xii. 6, 59 . . . 429
xii. 58 . . . 423
xiii. 4 . . . 104
xiii. 33 . . . 417
xiii. 34 . . . 263
xv. 8 430

Luke xix. 1, 2 . . Page 342
xix. 29 *ff.* . . . 368
xx. 20 . . . 423
xxi. 1 *ff.* . . . 364
xxi. 2 . . . 429
xxi. 21 . . . 294
xxii. 4, 52 . . . 424
xxii. 66 . . . 415
xxiii. 7 . . . 264
xxiii. 28 . . . 263
xxiv. 42 . . . 306
John i. 19 265
ii. 18 416
ii. 23 264
iv. 1 *ff.* . . . 416
v. 1 264
v. 2 . . . 117, 264
vi. 41 *ff.* . . . 416
vii. 1, 32, 45 . . 416
viii. 6 417
ix. 7 104
x. 22 264
xi. 18 264
xi. 53 *f.* . . . 416
xviii. 1 . . . 81
John xviii. 3 . . Page 426
xviii. 10 . . . 423
Acts i. 12 293
ii. 15 455
iv. 1 424
iv. 3 423
iv. 32 455
v. 18 *ff.* . . . 423
v. 26 . . . . 424 *f.*
vi. 1-5 456
ix. 2 415
x. 1 426
xii. 428
xiv. 4 456
xv. 30 456
xix. 19 . . . 430
xxi. . . . 426, 455 *f.*
xxi. 38 . . . 451
xxii. 5 415
2 Corinthians i. 21 . . 302
Galatians iv. 25 . . . 263
1 John ii. 20, 27 . . . 302
Revelation vi. 12 . . . 67
xi. 13, 19 . . 67
xvi. 18 . . 67

SPECIAL INDEX II.

JOSEPHUS

I. THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

(Cited as *Ant.*)

Book.	Chap.	Section.	Page in this vol.
I.	x.	2	262
	xiii.	1 *f.*	267
III.	ix.	1-4	361, 363
IV.	iv.	4	361, 364
	viii.	14-17	414 *f.*, 420
	viii.	22	361
V.	ii.	2	262
VII.	ii.	2	262
	iii.	1	162
	iii.	2	262 (*bis*)
	xiv.	4	110
VIII.	i.	5	81
	v.	3	261, 263
	x.	2, 4	262
IX.	vii.	3	81
	x.	4	64, 101, 110
X.	vii.	1	262
XI.	i.	1, 3	
	iii.	1, 10	262
	iv.	2	
	v.	6, 8	
	iv.	8	395
XII.	iii.	2 *f.*	344 *f.*, 392
	iv.		368
	iv.	1	345, 398
	iv.	2	441
	v.	1	399
	vi.	1	407
	ix.	7	402 *f.*
	x.	6	441
XIII.	i.		403
	iii.	4	364
	v.	11	404, 441
	vi.	3	441
	vi.	7	159
	viii.	3	194
XIII.	x.		131, 142
	xi.	1	409
	xi.	6	441
	xiii.	5	410, 441
	xvi.	1 *ff.*	410
	xvi.	5	408
XIV.	iii.	2	411, 442
	iv.	4 *f.*	194, 411 *f.*
	v.	4	411
	vii.	2	371
	viii.	3, 5	194, 411
	ix.	2	
	ix.	3-5	411 *f.*
	x.	2-7	
	xii.	3 *f.*	
	xiii.	1	412
	xv.	5	441
	xvi.	1 *ff.*	412
XV.	i.	2 *ff.*	412
	iii.	1	
	v.	2	64
	v.	2 *f.*	442
	vi.	2	412
	vii.	4	
	vii.	7, 10	442
	vii.	8	426
	viii.	1-4	412, 443
	viii.	2, 4	412, 423
	ix.	2	317
	ix.	3	412
	ix.	4 *f.*	130, 412
	x.	4	412
	xi.		192, 412
	xi.	1 *f.*	412, 443
	xi.	3	231
	xi.	4	407, 412, 426

Book.	Chap.	Section.	Page in this vol.
XV.	xi.	5	232, 235, 424
XVI.	i.	2	442
	ii.	4	412
	ii.	5	443
	iii.	3	261
	iv.	6	443
	v.	1	442
	viii.	1	412
	ix.	2, 5	
	x.	5	412, 444
	xi.	.	412
	xi.	4	445
XVII.	v.	.	412
	v.	5	442
	vi.	1-4	445
	vi.	2	412
	vi.	3	442
	viii.	4	344, 442
	ix.	1-3	445
	ix.	2	442
	x.	5, 10	
	xi.	1-4	446
	xiii.		
XVIII.	i.	.	447
	i.	4	442
	iii.	1	448
	iii.	2	129
	iv.	3	344, 426, 448

Book.	Chap.	Section.	Page in this vol.
XVIII.	viii.	2-8	449
	ix.	.	371
	ix.	1	364
XIX.	iv.-viii.		428
	vi.	2, 4	420
	vii.	4	449
XX.	i.-ix.	.	429
	i.	2	449
	i.	3	431
	ii.	3	371
	ii.	5	317
	v.	1	449
	v.	2-4	450
	v.	3	426
	vi.	1	450
	vi.	2	442, 450
	viii. *ff.*	.	431
	viii.	5-8, 10	451
	viii.	5	442
	viii.	8	423
	ix.	2	423
	ix.	3	424, 451
	ix.	6	422
	x.	.	403, 414
	x.	3	402
	xi.	.	429
	xi.	1	452

II. THE JEWISH WARS

(Cited as *B.J.*)

I.	ii.	2	159
	ii.	5	348
	iv.	3, 5	348, 410
	v.		
	vii.	1 *ff.*	194
	vii.	7	411
	viii.	5	
	x.	3	194
	xii.	5	412
	xiii.	9	365
	xiv.	4	412
	xv.	6	315, 348 (*bis*)
	xvi.	3	348
	xvii.	9	412
	xviii.	1 *ff.*	
	xviii.	2	24
	xviii.	3	348 (*bis*)
	xxi.	1	192, 231
	xxi.	10	130
	xxxiii.	9	348

II.	ix.	4	129
	xi.	.	428
	xi.-xvii.		429
	xiii.	2-5	451
	xiv. *f.*	.	452
	xv.	5	24
	xv.	6	432
	xvi.		
	xvi.	2	104
	xvii.	2-4	422 *ff.*
	xvii.	2-6	432
	xvii.	9	128 *f.*
	xix.	4	17, 244 *f.*
	xx.	3 *f.*	432
	xxii.	1	
IV.	iii. *f.*	.	433
	iii.	5	348
	iv.	6	424
	v.	4	348
	vii.	1	433

Book.	Chap.	Section.	Page in this vol.
IV.	viii.	2	332
	ix.	.	433
	ix.	12	232
V.	ii.	2	245 *f.*
	ii.	3	81
	iii.	2	18, 114, 246
	iv.	1	159, 162, 181, 192, 241
	iv.	2	81, 104, 153, 205, 223, 234 *f.*, 238, 241 *ff.*, 248, 420
	iv.	3	11, 191, 242, 412
	iv.	4	128 *f.*, 242
	v.	1	192, 231
	v.	2	231 *f.*, 424
	v.	3	364
	v.	8	426
	vi. *ff.*	.	242
	vi.	1	81, 104, 153, 224
	vi.	2	246
	vi.	3	154
	vi.	5	243
	vii.	2 *f.*	245
	viii.	1	24
V.	viii.	2	248
	ix.	4	87, 104, 224
	xi.	4	115
	xii.	2	104
	xiii.	4	430
	xiii.	6	364
VI.	i.	1	18, 246
	ii.	4	424 (*bis*)
	iii.	2	81
	v.	2	364
	v.	3	424 (*bis*), 425
	vi.	1	81
	vi.	3	154
	vii.	2	104
	vii.	3	81
	viii.	1	18
	viii.	5	24, 104
	ix.	1, 4	163
	x.	1	262
	xii.	2	81
VII.	i.	1	163
	v.	5	412
	vi.	3	319

III. AGAINST APION

(Cited as *C. Ap.* or *C. Apion.*)

Book	i.	14 *f.*	261
	i.	17	261, 263
	i.	19	261
	i.	22	260 *ff.*
	i.	26	262
Book	ii.	7	307 *f.*
	ii.	8 *f.*	362, 424
	ii.	10	425
	ii.	15	373

IV. LIFE OF JOSEPHUS

(Cited as *Vita*)

1		407
12 *f.*		432
24, 26		327
31		442

SPECIAL INDEX III.

TALMUDIC LITERATURE

I. THE MISHNA (ed. Surenhusius)

*** The Tractates are given below in the order in which they are arranged in the Mishna.

	Page
Terûmôth iv. 3 / Ma'aserôth / Ma'aser Sheni	363
Halla i. 7	374
ii. 7 / iv. 9	363
'Orla ii. 12	424
Bikkûrîm i. 3	363
iii. 3	424
Sheḳalim ii.	364
iv. 6-8	364 *f.*
vi. 6	363
Yôma iii. 10	364
Ta'anîth iv. 5	364
Nedarîm iii. 4	368
Baba Ḳamma x. 2	368
x. 9	375
Sanhedrîn i. 5	415, 420 (*bis*)
i. 6	387
ii. 2, 4	420
Sanhedrîn x. 2	415, 418, 420 *f.*
4	415
Shebû'ôth ii. 2	420
Abôth ii. 2	375
Zebaḥîm iv. 41 / v. 7 *f.* / xii. 3	363
xiv. 8	251
Menaḥoth x. 2, 5	251
Ḥûllîn x. 1 / xi. 1 *f.*	363
'Arakîn viii. 1, 4	365
ix. 6	251
Tamîd i. 1 / Middôth i. 1-9	424
i. 6	407
ii. 3	424
iii. 8	364
v. 3	420
Makshîrîn vi. 3	318

II. THE TOSEPHTA

	Page
Ḥalla i.	363
Kethûbôth 4	251

III. THE TALMUD

	Page		Page
Demai 23*a*	368	Ta'anîth iv. 68 . . .	362
Shabbath 15*a* . . .	420	Nazîr 574	174
21*b* . . .	407	Ḳiddushîn 1, 58*d*. . .	430
'Erubîn 51*b* . .	114, 293		
Pesaḥîm 109*b* . . .	130	Baba Ḳamma 94*a* . .	368
vi. 38*a* . . .	424	Sanhedrîn 24*a* . . .	114
Yôma 31*a*	130		
582	174	Zebaḥim 54*b* . . .	130
Sukka 20*a*	257		

IV. THE MIDRASHIM

Bereshith Rabba li. . .	114	Sifrà, or Siphra 19*a* . .	421
lxxxix.	258, 267		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

Ant. . . . . *Antiquitatum Judaicarum Libri xx.*, by Josephus. Vols. i.-iv. of his works in Niese's edition. Berlin, 1887-90.

Arch. Res. . . *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, 1873-74, by C. Clermont-Ganneau, LL.D. London: Pal. Expl. Fund, vol. i., 1899; vol. ii., 1896.

Assyr. Wört. . *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, by Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig, 1896.

Baedeker[5] . . Fifth edition of *Pälastina und Syrien, Handbuch für Reisende*, by I. Benzinger (1st and 2nd edd. by Socin). Leipzig: Baedeker, 1900.

Bib. Geogr. Pal. *Bibliotheca Geographica Palæstinæ*, by R. Röhricht. Berlin, 1890.

B.J. . . . . *De Bello Judaico Libri vii.*, by Josephus, vol. vi. of Niese's ed. Berlin, 1894.

B.L. . . . . *Bibel-Lexikon.*

B.R. . . . . *Biblical Researches*, by Edward Robinson. London, 1841.

C. . . . . . *Circa.*

C. Apion. . . *De Judæorum Vetustate sive Contra Apionem Libri ii.*, by Josephus. Vol. v. of Niese's ed. Berlin, 1889.

Chald. Wörterbuch . . . } *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, by J. Levy, 3rd ed. Leipzig, 1866.

Comp. Geog. of Pal. . . . } *The Comparative Geography of Palestine*, by Carl Ritter. Edinburgh (T. and T. Clark), 1866.

D. . . . . Various Deuteronomic Portions of the Old Testament.

D.B. . . . . *Dictionary of the Bible.* Hastings' *D.B.*, Edinburgh (T. and T. Clark), 1898-1904; Smith's *D.B.*[2] (sometimes *B.D.*), 2nd ed. London (Murray), 1893.

E. . . . . The Elohist Document of the Hexateuch.

Enc. Bibl. . . *Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. London (A. and C. Black), 1899-1903.

Etym. Stud. . *Etymologische Studien zum Semitischen . . . Lexicon*, by J. Barth. Leipzig, 1893.

Excav. at Jerus. . *Excavations at Jerusalem 1894-1897*, by F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie. Publ. by Committee of the Pal. Explor. Fund. London, 1898.

Frag. Hist. Græc. . . . *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, by C. and T. Müller. Paris (Didot), 1841-51.

G.A.P. . . . *Geographie des Alten Palästina*, by F. Buhl. Leipzig, 1896.

Geog. . . . . *Geographica*, by Strabo: ed. by G. Kramer, Berlin, 1852; another ed. by A. Koraē, Paris, 1815, etc.

Geog. Lex. . . . *Geographisches Lexikon* (Mu'jam el-Buldân), by Yaḳût, ed. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig, 1866.

Gesch. . . . *Geschichte* (Schürer's, Guthe's, Stade's, and Wellhausen's).

Gesch.(3) . . . Third edition of *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, by E. Schürer. Leipzig, 1901. See also *Hist.*

Gesch. d. Königr. Jerus. *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (1100-1291 A.D.), by R. Röhricht. Innsbruck, 1898.

Golgotha . . . *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, by (the late) Major-General Sir Charles W. Wilson, K.C.B., etc.; ed. by Colonel Sir C. M. Watson. London (Pal. Expl. Fund), 1906.

Gram. . . . . *A Grammar of the New Testament Diction*, by G. B. Winer, trans. by E. Masson. Edinburgh (T. and T. Clark), 1859.

Hebr. Arch. . *Hebräische Archäologie*, by I. Benzinger. Freiburg-i.-B. 1894; 2nd ed. 1907.

H.G.H.L. . . *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, by the present writer. London (Hodder and Stoughton), 1894; 13th ed., 1906.

Hist. . . . . Wellhausen's. See *Prol.*

Hist. . . . . Schürer's. *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.* Edinburgh (T. and T. Clark), 1890, being the Eng. transl. of the 2nd ed. of the work given above against *Gesch.*(3).

Hist. . . . . William of Tyre's *Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumeth usque ad A.D. mclxxxiv., edita a venerabili Willermo Tyrensi archiepiscopo*; in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux.* Tome 1er. Paris, 1844.

H.N. . . . . *Caii Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri xxxvii.* Paris, 1685.

Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch. *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, by J. Wellhausen. Berlin, 1894. See also *Gesch.*

J. . . . . The Jahwist Document of the Hexateuch.

K.A.T.(3) . .	*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, by E. Schrader; 3rd ed. by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler. Berlin, 1903.
'Ḳidd.' . . .	Ḳiddushîn, tractate of the Mishna and Talmud.
L. and B. . .	*The Land and the Book*, by W. M. Thomson. London (Nelson and Sons), 1877.
L.B.R. . . .	*Later Biblical Researches*, by Edward Robinson. London (Murray), 1856.
Luc.	Lucian's Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures.
LXX. . . .	The Greek or Septuagint Version of the Hebrew Scriptures, ed. by H. B. Swete: *The O.T. in Greek according to the Septuagint.* Cambridge, 1887-94.
LXXA. . . .	Codex Alexandrinus of the same.
LXXB. . . .	Codex Vaticanus of the same.
LXX$_{\aleph}$ . . .	Codex Sinaiticus of the same.
Mater. zur Topogr. des Alt. Jerus. . . .	and similar abbreviations, *Materialien zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*, by A. Kuemmel, Halle (Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas). 1906.
M.u.N.D.P.V.	*Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina Vereins.* Leipzig (Baedeker).
Neuhebr. Wörterbuch . .	*Neuhebräisches u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, by J. Levy. Leipzig, 1876.
N. Sem. Inscr.	*A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, by G. A. Cooke. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1903.
Onom. Sacr. .	*Eusebii Pamphili . . . Onomasticon . . . Graece cum Latina Hieronymi interpretatione*, edition of Larsow and Parthey: Berlin, 1862; also in *Onomastica Sacra* by P. de Lagarde, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1887.
O.T.J.C. . .	*The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, by W. Robertson Smith. 2nd ed. London (A. and C. Black), 1892.
P.	The Priestly Document of the Hexateuch.
Pal. under the Moslems . .	*Palestine under the Moslems*, by Guy le Strange. London (for the Pal. Expl. Fund), 1890.
P.E.F. Large Map . . .	*Map of Western Palestine in 26 sheets*, by C. R. Conder and H. Kitchener, 1872-77. Scale, one inch to the mile. London, Pal. Explor. Fund, 1880.
P.E.F. Mem. 'Jerus.' . .	*The Survey of Western Palestine* (Memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund), the Jerusalem volume by Warren and Conder. London, 1884.
P.E.F.Q. . .	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, published at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street, London, W.
Phys. Geog. .	*Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, by Edward Robinson. London (Murray), 1865.
Plans of Jerusalem . . .	For these, see vol. i. p. 211.

Præp. Evang. *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, ed. Gaisford. Oxford, 1843.

Prol. (also sometimes *Hist.*) *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* by J. Wellhausen, translated by J. S. Black and A. Menzies. Edinburgh (A. and C. Black), 1885.

R.E. / *Real. Enc.* *Realencyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, edited by A. Hauck. Vol. viii. Leipzig, 1900.

Recov. of Jerus. *Recovery of Jerusalem*, by C. W. Wilson, C. Warren, and others. London, 1871.

Rec. d'Arch. Orient. *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale.* C. Clermont-Ganneau. Paris, 1888 (not seen).

Reg. Regn. Hieros. and *Regesta* *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (*MXCVII.-MCCXCI.*), ed. R. Röhricht. Innsbruck, 1893. *Additamentum*, 1904.

Rel. of the Sem. *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, by W. Robertson Smith. Edinburgh (A. and C. Black), 1889

Rev. Bib. *Revue Biblique.*

'Sanh.' Sanhedrin, tractate of the Mishna and Talmud.

S.B.O.T. *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, ed. with the assistance of Horace Howard Furness, by Paul Haupt. London (J. Clarke and Co.).

'Shabb.' Shabbath, tractate of the Mishna and Talmud.

Talm. Bab. The Babylonian Talmud.

Talm. Jerus. The Jerusalem or Palestinian Talmud.

Theol. Stud. u. Krit. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken.* Gotha.

Thes. *Thesaurus . . . Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Vet. Test.*, by Gesenius. Leipzig, 1835.

Vit. *Flavii Josephi Vita*, Niese's ed., vol. iv. Berlin, 1890.

Z.A.T.W. *Zeitschrift für die alt-testamentliche Wissenschaft.* Giessen.

Z.D.M.G. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

Z.D.P.V. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins.* Leipzig (Baedeker).

Z.N.T.W. *Zeitschrift für die neu-testamentliche Wissenschaft.* Giessen.

Zur. Topogr. u. Gesch. Pal. *Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas*, by A. Schlatter. Stuttgart, 1893.

Other works referred to in the text or notes are cited by their unabbreviated titles.

Printed by T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press

036982

this book is to be returned on or before
the last date stamped below.

SMITH

L. I. H. E.
THE MARKLAND LIBRARY
STAND PARK RD., LIVERPOOL, L16 9JD